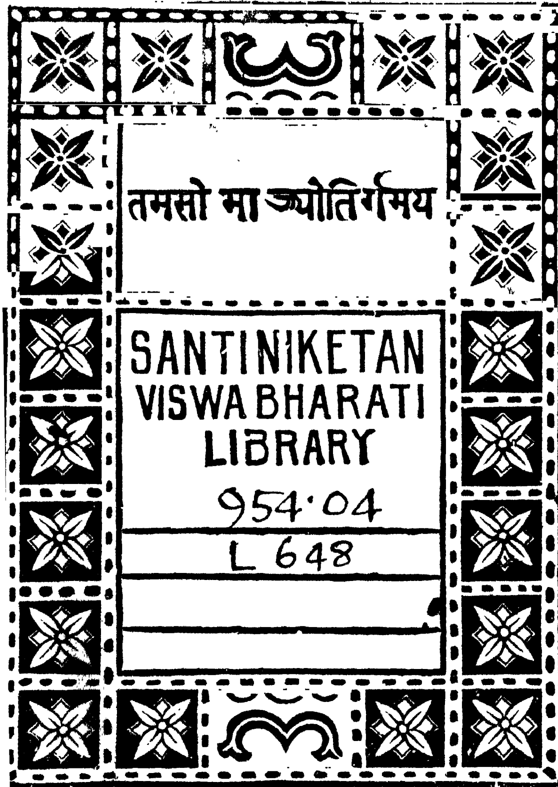

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The Most Honourable the Marquess of Linlithgow,
K.T., P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., O.B.E., D.L., T.D.

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
(1936–1943)

SPEECHES

AND

STATEMENTS

By

THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW

P.C., K.T., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., O.B.E., D.L., T.D.,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

(1936-43)

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INTRODUCTION

For two reasons, this collection of the speeches, statements and correspondence of the Marquess of Linlithgow may be of some use to students of Indian affairs.

(1) The Viceroy periodically reviews public affairs, surveying events, explaining policy, noticing criticisms. The Marquess of Linlithgow presided over the destinies of India for seven eventful years from April 18, 1936, to October 20, 1943—including the years of the full working of Provincial Autonomy, and the critical period of the world war. Whatever one's approach to the problems, no study of the Indian history of the period may ignore the exposition of official policies and measures by the head of the State. (2) Nor, indeed, have all the problems of his time ceased to be of interest today.

Before he assumed office, Lord Linlithgow had known India and India had known him first as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and, next, of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Reforms which are embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. As Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, his experience was " by no means limited to the subject of our enquiry."

" For, in my journeyings, by observation and by converse with men and women of many and varied opinions, I came to a new understanding of the political problem with which we are confronted in India, and I began to comprehend something of what I may call the Indian point of view, and of how the complex of Indian affairs, with which I had grown familiar from the angle of one living in Great Britain, is viewed by those to whom India is a beloved mother, the cradle of their race, and the object of their deepest affections and of their highest hopes. This experience had brought about, I may truthfully tell you, a profound change in my own outlook and opinions, and when I found myself in the chair of the Joint Select Committee I was moved to hope that it might be vouchsafed to me to make at least a contribution, however humble, towards the assuagement of those political difficulties which have disturbed the relationship between India and my own country, and which are due in the main to the development of political thought in this country and to a growing consciousness amongst Indians of the greatness of their country, and of the high destiny towards which, from her history and her place in the world, India is entitled to aspire."*

Of the measures taken during the Viceroyalty to further the cause of the uplift of the masses, the speeches give an idea. Lord Linlithgow recognised that the " propulsive power " behind all improvement " must be the force of public opinion " which " expressed through democratic institutions " was, he believed, " destined to

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p. 73.

grow in power and extent" in the future.* But, first, it must be educated in the fundamentals of the prosperity of the countryside and the physical welfare of the population as a whole. "When I returned to India more than a year ago," he remarked on June 22, 1937, "I set myself to establish in the public mind the essential relationship between each of the three orders of life: the life of the plant; the life of the animal; and the life of the man—or in other words, the direct connection between agricultural progress, improvement in animal husbandry and human welfare, nutritional and economic."† We get here and there in the speeches a glimpse of the pains he took to acquaint himself with the progress of measures—we find him examining several years' annual reports of a department to find out the progress in action on the recommendations about housing of industrial labour made by the Royal Commission on Labour.

It is difficult to mistake Lord Linlithgow's profound faith in the soundness of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy and Federation of India embodied in the Act of 1935. In his first address to the Central Legislature on September 21, 1936, he speaks of the impending constitutional change: "The unitary system of Government for so long the supreme authority in India is disappearing as we watch," he said. "In its place great autonomous provinces make their appearance; and finally comes the Federation, crowning the entire structure and embracing and unifying within its bold and ample scope the common life and aspirations of one-fifth of the human race, dispersed over a sub-continent as large as Western Europe. Such will be the structure of government in India which, when the task is completed, will meet the gaze of a watching world: a spectacle whose dignity and grandeur will be not unworthy of this great and famous country."‡

In his broadcast made immediately after taking the oaths of allegiance and of office, he announced his intention of keeping in touch with leaders of all political parties as well as with the trend of opinion in the electorates as a necessary requisite of the "successful working of representative government," particularly in its formative period. By taking the initiative in inviting Mr. Gandhi in 1937, he broke the tradition of isolation. He recognised the importance of the press in democracy and of providing it with full facilities to obtain information, laying it down that such help as his officers "may find it possible to give to the press will be confined to facts, that these will be presented in a fashion entirely objective; and that the material available will be at the disposal of the press as a whole, without distinction or discrimination."¶

This collection provides some papers of constitutional interest. In his message to India when the Congress party hesitated to assume office on the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, Lord Linlithgow defined the constitutional relations of the Governor and his Ministry as envisaged in the Act and the Instruments of Instructions. Even in the "limited" field of special responsibilities, he declared, a Governor will "at all times be concerned to carry his

* p. 70. † p. 69. ‡ p. 23. ¶ p. 6.

Ministers with him ; while in other respects in the field of their ministerial responsibilities, it is mandatory on a Governor to be guided by the advice of his Ministers even though for whatever reason he may not himself be wholly satisfied that that advice is in the circumstances necessarily and decisively the right advice." In the spirit of that message, he also helped in the solution of subsequent constitutional difficulties in the working of responsible government in the provinces. A remark in a statement on Rajkot by Mr. Gandhi in February 1939 indicated the transformation in the political atmosphere brought about by Lord Linlithgow's policy. "It is insufferable," said Mr. Gandhi, "that the Congress which is today *in alliance with the British Government*, should be treated as an enemy and an outsider in the States which are vassals of the British." Others perceived it, too. But, in October 1939, on the issue of war aims, the Congress party threw up office in eight of eleven Indian provinces in which it had formed Ministries or coalitions.

It was Lord Linlithgow's hope that "the transitory period between the achievement of Provincial Autonomy and the inauguration of the Federation of India will be of short duration." He did not fail to notice that, on various grounds, the Federal scheme had been the "target of attacks." But he pleaded: "No scheme is perfect ; no scheme will satisfy everyone ; every scheme admits of being improved on by experience." He believed that "the Federal scheme in its operation would have turned out as satisfactorily as, broadly speaking, we can all of us regard this scheme of Provincial Autonomy as having turned out," that the Federal scheme of the 1935 Act afforded "the swiftest stepping stone" and was an "essential stage" in the progress to Dominion Status. The Act was based, he said, "on the greatest measure of common agreement" obtainable at the time it was framed and the scheme with all its imperfections would solve the "bulk of India's problems." He urged that "it is essential in matters of this nature, affecting the future of tens of millions of people, affecting the relations of the great communities, affecting the Princes of India, affecting the immense commercial and industrial enterprises, whether Indian or European in this country, that the largest measure of agreement practicable should be achieved. With the best will in the world, progress must be conditioned by practical considerations."*

Though Federation did not come into being, Lord Linlithgow made his contribution to the objective. He laboured to clear the obstacles that delayed the adhesion of the requisite quantum of Indian States and tackled many complicated issues relating to the position of the Princes in Federal India. But the number of points requiring consideration and examination turned out to be very large ; and final acceptance had not been received from a large number of States by September 1939 when, due to the outbreak of the war, the preparations for Federation had to be suspended. His speeches, however, showed his continued concern that the States should prepare

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* p. 209.

themselves to play their part in the development of India as a whole—the progress of his concrete schemes in this behalf is summed up in his last speech to the Chamber of Princes, in which he also referred to the Crown's responsibility of ensuring, if need be, that what was protected continued to be worthy of protection. Nor did he at any time during his Viceroyalty overlook the position of the States and their importance in relation to any settlement of the problem of India.

In the central sphere, if the Federal scheme could not be set going, the Government of India, a body of seven with a majority of officials, was expanded to a body of fourteen of whom eleven were public men and only four Europeans including the Commander-in-Chief. In 1942 came the Cripps offer whose broad principles are the accepted policy of His Majesty's Government today. An advance in India's status was signified by the appointment of two Representatives to the War Cabinet, of an Agent-General in the U.S.A. and at Chungking, the raising of the status of the Agent-General in South Africa to that of a High Commissioner, and representation of India on the Middle East Council at Cairo. During the war a special mission from the U.S.A., first under Mr. T. M. Wilson, thereafter under a Personal Representative of the President, was stationed at the Headquarters of the Government of India; so also a Chinese Commissioner.

In the absence of a Federal Government, Lord Linlithgow supplied the necessary leadership to safeguard against the development of a provincial outlook to the detriment of a common all-India point of view. Autonomy, he emphasised, did not "weaken the need or diminish the advantage" of consultation and co-operation between Province and Province and between Provinces and States. Coordination in matters of common concern to autonomous provinces was fostered through conferences called at the initiative of the Central Government.

The necessity of such central leadership was vital on the outbreak of the war. Over two million men were recruited for the army; naval personnel increased tenfold; the Indian Air Force expanded rapidly; and India's war potential in terms of industrial production and the production of military weapons developed to the highest possible degree. The whole country was organised for the maximum of assistance that India could provide. The establishment of the Department of Supply by which immense results have been achieved, the despatch of the Roger Mission, and the establishment of the Eastern Group Supply Conference and thereafter of the Eastern Group Supply Council, were directly due to Lord Linlithgow's initiative. He foresaw the eastern threat long before it came and prepared for it. The danger of the invasion of India was close at one time: it was faced resolutely. In the dark periods of the war, his was the voice to call for unity, courage, and faith. And he handsomely acknowledged "the spirit of the people of India, whether British India or Indian States," the "confidence, enthusiasm and courage which they have shown through four years of a devastating and exhausting war," and the "cheerful readiness with which they have borne the many burdens that total war involves and the privations

and hardships inseparable from it. Theirs has been a great achievement on the home front, as well as in the field, and one on which India will look back with pride and the world with admiration." He acknowledged all the help given him by the Indian Press, its sense of "fairness" and its "eager anxiety to serve the public," and by "that hardworking body of intelligent and able men by whom India is so well served in the Press."

Though Lady Linlithgow's speeches fall outside the scope of the present collection, she made her contribution to welfare activities during her husband's Viceroyalty and notable was her anti-tuberculosis campaign. It is said that appeals from the sick, the poor, the unemployed or the aggrieved, which reached her from all parts of India, never failed to receive her attention. She established a kennel club of India and interested herself in animal welfare generally. Herself a musician and a painter, all the arts received her ready patronage. Her last contribution to a cause very near her heart was her donation, announced on the eve of her departure, of a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 for the education of the daughters of Indian soldiers, sailors and seamen killed in action.

CONTENTS

Page

PART I.

THE PRELIMINARY PHASE.

PART II.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

PART III.

THE WAR.

PART IV

CONTACT WITH PARTY LEADERS AND CORRESPONDENCE

APPENDICES

PART I

THE PRELIMINARY PHASE

1. "BACK AMONG FRIENDS"

Extracts from the reply to the address of welcome from the Mayor and Members of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay at the Gateway of India, on April 17, 1936 :— **April 1936**

" It gives me great pleasure to receive the address of welcome you have read to me. In particular, I thank you for the appreciative terms in which you so kindly refer to myself and to my past association with this country.

India is a land of warm affections and abiding loyalties. Now that I return to assume the new responsibilities which lie before me, I feel already from the cordiality with which you have received me that I am 'back among friends' ready to give me their encouragement and support. I shall spare no effort in the years that I shall spend among you to do all that in me lies to give back in service to India some return for all that I have in the past received from India in kindness, sympathy and understanding.

My work as Chairman of the Agricultural Commission, which you mention, was to me of absorbing interest. It gave me opportunities, which I hope may now stand me in good stead, of moving among all classes and of learning something in a very personal way of their manners of life and modes of thought. The cultivator tilling his fields remains as ever the backbone of this country, and the foundation of her prosperity. I rejoice to know that the people of this great city appreciate the profound significance of agricultural improvement and that they have in mind the extent to which their own prosperity is linked with that of the farmers of India.

The work of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, to which also you allude, is fresh in the public mind. I counted it an honour and a privilege to preside over the Committee's deliberations, to work with the delegates from India, and thus to come again into direct contact with Indian problems and with the hopes and aspirations of India's people. I shall assume the arduous duties of my office at a time when the great changes contemplated by the Committee and since endorsed by the British Parliament are to be introduced. A great opportunity lies now to India's hand. You will not expect pronouncements from me on this occasion as to the measures of constitutional reform which have for so long engaged the attention of statesmen in this country

and at home; but let me say to you that it is with hope and with confidence that I come to take my part in the great constructive work that lies before this country....

Lady Linlithgow wishes me to thank you for your very kind references to her. You may rest assured of her never-failing support to all that contributes to the welfare of the people of India.

I would like before I conclude my remarks to take the opportunity of this, the first public utterance to be made by me in India, to pay a heartfelt tribute to the Viceroy whom, very shortly, I shall have to refer to as my predecessor. H. E. Lord Willingdon, has guided the ship of State during an eventful and critical period with a distinction of which we are all aware. He came to his high office well equipped for the heavy responsibility which it involves by long service in India, by a close acquaintance with her problems and her personalities, and by a deep and informed sympathy for Indian culture and Indian aspirations.

He leaves India now, after many years of devoted service to her interests, with the consciousness of work well done.

I thank you once again, Mr. Mayor, for the warmth of your welcome to us both to-day. I cannot overstate the degree of encouragement which, on the eve of assuming this great and onerous charge, I derive from your kind and friendly words. We need your encouragement and your help, for we are both fully alive to the responsibilities and the magnitude of the task which lies before us, and I can only add in conclusion that in the fulfilment of that task I shall rely upon the loyalty and assistance of all those who are working for the benefit and prosperity of this great country."

2. "INDIA'S UNITY, MY UNCHANGING PURPOSE"

April 17, 1936

The Address of Welcome from the Muslim Community of Bombay on April 17, 1936 provided an opportunity to Lord Linlithgow to affirm, on the day of his arrival in India, his intention of constantly holding the balance even between all sections of the Indian population. Extract from his reply :—

"It was with particular pleasure that I listened to the assurance in your address of the ready co-operation of the Muslim community in working the Reforms in the spirit in which they have been offered. It is my earnest hope that I may look for the same co-operation from all sections of the people of India, regardless of class or creed, and that the period of my office as Viceroy may be marked by an ever growing appreciation of the decisive importance of national unity which will transcend any local or sectional differences. It is in the unity of her people that the future strength of India lies. It will be my sincere and unchanging purpose in the work that lies before me to do all that I can to contribute to that unity : and with that object in view, it will be my aim constantly to hold the balance even between all sections, classes and creeds of the population of this great country......"

3. "I SPOKE FOR YOU"

To every section of the residents of India—including children!—Lord Linlithgow addressed a word of assurance, encouragement or advice in his broadcast made immediately after taking the oaths of Allegiance and of Office on April 18, 1936. **April 18, 1936**

"A few moments ago, you listened to a brief but profoundly significant ceremony when you heard me take the oaths of Allegiance and of Office. Now speaking to you in your homes, with those you love about you, I wish you to know that as I promised my true allegiance to His Majesty and dedicated myself to the service of India, I was conscious that I spoke not only for myself but also for you all. By the eager manifestations of your loyalty to the Throne and Person of the King-Emperor, forthcoming last year at the Jubilee of His late Majesty King George the Fifth, and by your grief and sympathy in the sad hour of His late Majesty's demise, you have given fresh proof of your constant devotion to the Imperial Throne. I am confident, too, that everyone of you will wish, on this solemn occasion, with me to pledge yourselves anew to the service of your mother-land and of your fellow men.

You know well the heavy responsibility that rests upon the Viceroy—a responsibility which has been discharged with such signal success over a long period of years by the illustrious public servant whom I have the honour to follow in that great office. Amongst the manifold duties of the Viceroy none is more vital than that for the maintenance of peace and good order throughout India. Believe me, my friends, that I can do you no greater service than by the vigilant and effective discharge of this duty. The long story of progress and political evolution throughout the world proves beyond all question that of all the factors that may make for retrogression and reaction, none is more powerful than civil disorder to inflict irreparable hurt upon the body-politic. This and all other duties and responsibilities laid upon me by law and by the Instrument of Instructions which the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to bestow upon me I will discharge without fear or favour, affection or ill-will, including that to do right to all manner of people after the Laws and Usages of India.

Most of you know that I am no stranger to this lovely land and to its kindly peoples. During the tour of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, I saw not only a great part of the countryside in many provinces, but also many of your cities and towns, and met not a few persons whose kindness to me I can never forget and whose friendship I greatly value.

The terms of our appointment upon that Commission confined the scope of our enquiry to British India. Therefore I did not have the pleasure, except during the brief period of a holiday, of visiting the territories of any Indian Rulers. This omission I hope by the kindness of Their Highnesses to repair at an early date. Let me at once assure you that I have ever in mind the constant and devoted

loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor of the Princes and Peoples of the Indian States, and here affirm my profound admiration for their proud record of constant and undeviating service to the Throne and Empire, both in peace and war.

To the Services of the Crown in India I give my greeting ! "

Lord Linlithgow spoke of " the ancient and glorious traditions of service at sea " to which the Royal Indian Navy was heir, though young in years. Addressing the Army in India and the Royal Air Force he remarked :

" I recall with pride and pleasure that in Northern France in 1915, I witnessed the loyalty, discipline and valour of units of the Indian Army. Of the decorations that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon me, there is none that I prize more highly than the Long Service Medal of that branch of the Army in which I had the honour to serve."

He spoke of the fame of the Indian Civil Service and of other Services in India, of his interest in their problems and of their duty in the impending period of constitutional change. He assured the farmers of his " understanding sympathy ", and the educated unemployed of his anxiety to do all that was possible to mitigate their hardships. He hoped to find means to forward the cause of all branches of Science and technology and to foster and encourage a quickening of the creative impulse in the field of indigenous art and literature.

Proceeding :—

" Now let me say a word or two, as one who has ever experienced the greatest happiness from his relations with his own family, to those young people who may hear me today. Children ! I speak to you as your King-Emperor's Viceroy and as your friend. Remember that when you grow up it will be with you that the honour of your country will rest. Remember that no man or woman can be a good citizen and a true patriot who does not first of all learn to govern and subdue his own nature. That is never easy. But take heart of grace and believe me that if you try hard and long to be good, you will in the end succeed. I shall very often think of you. Fear God ! Honour the King-Emperor ! Obey your parents !

I turn now to a matter of the highest importance. I would have you know that I am incapable of preferring any one community before another. Let me bring home to you my inflexible resolution in this matter by a homely illustration. God has indeed been good to me for he has given me five children. They came into the world each one with a nature and with characteristics different from their brothers and sisters. I have tried my utmost to understand those differences and to deal with each one of my children in a fashion appropriate to his or her nature ; to give support where support has seemed to me to be needed ; and in each to cultivate natural gifts and good qualities. I have sought, too, to encourage them at all times to be tolerant of

each other. I love them all most dearly. But among my children I have no favourite.

In a few months you may expect to see inaugurated the system of Provincial Autonomy laid down in the Government of India Act of 1935. This, as you are aware, will mark the first stage towards the completion of that constitutional structure whose natural crown and summit will be the all-India Federation as now prescribed in the same Statute. The consummation of constitutional changes so profound cannot, in the nature of things, be simple of achievement. The success of this signal endeavour rests very largely with you, and must in great degree depend upon your steadiness and forbearance. It will be my duty, throughout this anxious period, to tender to you such counsel as may seem to me to be within my proper function, and to be calculated to assist you in discharging the responsibilities of citizenship under representative government. In no circumstances can it be for me to advise you how to vote, for it is of the very essence of this system of government that in that matter you should decide of your own individual and unfettered judgment where it is that your duty lies. Therefore the leaders of all political parties, by whatever name they are known, competing within the ambit of the constitution for the suffrage of the provincial electorates, may rely implicitly upon me never wittingly to use language calculated to prejudice their lawful interests.

It is quite true that at the Centre as at present constituted, my Government finds itself opposed from time to time by substantial elements in the Central Legislatures. The conditions of that opposition, and the fact that in no circumstances can those who compose such opposition be called upon by me to form part of an alternative government, constitute, in my considered view—as indeed they did in the opinion of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament which considered the Reforms—the best of all reasons for the constitutional changes at the Centre adumbrated in the recent Act of Parliament. Meantime let me only say that in my judgment the appropriate forum for the exposition and, where necessary, the defence of Government policy, is upon the floor of the Legislatures. The circumstances then (and I speak to you as I intend always to do, with the utmost frankness), which must exist upon the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy and before the setting up of the Federation, will inevitably lay upon me no inconsiderable difficulty. You may rest assured that my constant endeavour throughout the period shortly to be entered upon will be to contribute to the best of my opportunities towards the successful working of self-government in the Provinces, and at the same time to prepare the way for the changes at the Centre implicit in the setting up of an all-India Federation.

The successful working of representative government, particularly in the formative period shortly to be entered upon, requires, amongst other things, that I should as far as practicable be in touch with the leaders of all political parties as well as with the trend of opinion in the electorates. It is highly important that you should understand

plainly that when I grant an interview to the leader or leaders of this or that political party, this in no way signifies that I favour such leaders or their parties above other leaders and parties. This rule and convention is well understood in Great Britain as between the Crown and political leaders in that country. Its general acceptance in India is in my judgment essential to the successful working in this country of representative self-government.

It is within the power of the Press of all democratic countries to make the most material contribution towards the successful working of public institutions, and the development of an informed and responsible body of opinion. But, like the rest of us, newspaper men cannot be expected to make bricks without straw. If they are to discharge their responsible duties towards the public, and to comment effectively upon current affairs, they require, whatever their editorial policy, to be informed as far as practicable upon the facts at issue. As one well accustomed to their requirements in this regard, I intend to do my utmost to give them such assistance as properly I may. And both they and their readers may rest assured that such help as my officers may find it possible to give to the Press will be confined to facts, that these will be presented in a fashion entirely objective; and that the material available will be at the disposal of the Press as a whole, without distinction or discrimination.

It has occurred to me that there may be those amongst you who may wish to hear in the Hindustani language the words which I have spoken to you today. I have therefore given my instructions that a full and exact translation into Hindustani of my speech is to be broadcast immediately I have finished speaking.

In conclusion let me say to you that of all those conditions which in great endeavours make for a happy and successful issue, none is more essential than that those who participate in them should both trust and respect each other. All men are liable to err. I do not ask or expect that all of you will at all times find yourselves in agreement with me. Nevertheless, you may be sure that I shall never doubt your sincerity or the integrity of your minds. I ask no more than that you should favour me with the same whole-hearted trust that I have promised to extend to you.

For the next five years, without let or stay, I will devote my mind, my heart, and such health as Providence may vouchsafe to me, to the service of your country. For this I ask you to remember me in your prayers. Let us move boldly forward, with faith and courage, you and I, and with all our strength strive to better the lot of her Peoples, wheresoever they may be and to sustain, in all its ancient fame and glory, the great name of India over all the world."

4. ANNIVERSARY OF SILVER WEDDING

The New Delhi Municipal Committee's Welcome Address was presented on April 18, 1936, *which happened to be the eve of the anniversary of Their Excellencies' Silver wedding. Extracts from H. E.'s reply to the Municipal Committee's Address :—* **April 18, 1936**

" You have referred to the fact that tomorrow is the anniversary of our Silver wedding. It is indeed a happy coincidence that I should enter Delhi for the first time as Viceroy on the eve of that occasion. It is but natural that my wife and I should wish at such a moment to share with others something of our happiness, and it has been a source of real pleasure to me to celebrate it by arranging for the feeding of the poor . . . .

I note with satisfaction the progress that has been made in the provision of medical and educational facilities, and I am glad to see that you have not overlooked the importance of an adequate provision for open air recreation, and that you are concerned for the promotion of schemes designed to encourage industrial education and learning. The record of your past achievements is closely associated with the names of my predecessors, in particular of Lord Halifax, whose interest in the development of the new capital has always been so close, and of Lord and Lady Willingdon. Under the aegis of Lord and Lady Willingdon the task of bringing the city to completion has been very greatly advanced, while New Delhi must always remain grateful to Lady Willingdon for the part which she has played in all activities connected with its charitable, medical, and educational institutions.

You have referred to my interest in agriculture. It is an interest which is very deep and real, and it is a source of great pleasure to me that the Indian Agricultural Research Institute should have been established in New Delhi. The advantages which will result from its location there and its accessibility in its new home are patent, and it will be a sincere satisfaction to me to open it in person when the opportunity arises, perhaps in the course of next cold weather.

In thanking you again for the welcome which you have been so kind as to extend to Lady Linlithgow and myself, I will only add that I will bear in mind the points which you have urged for my consideration, and that you may rest assured of my continued sympathy and support in dealing with the problems that may concern you in connection with the development and embellishment of New Delhi."

5. "MY LITTLE PLAN"

April 22, 1936 *Lord Linlithgow presented two stud bulls to Delhi on April 22,* 1936. *His "little plan" for helping the cultivators of the Delhi District, set in motion within a week of assuming charge, marked the beginning of the schemes launched during his regime to help the agriculturists. Text of speech :—*

"In a moment I shall take leave to introduce to you two friends of mine—young but distinguished and of unimpeachable origin. First of all I want to tell you about a little plan of mine for helping the cultivators of Delhi District. Even if you live in a city or town, I am sure you will appreciate that the cow and the working bullock have, on their patient back, the whole structure of Indian agriculture. They are faithful assistants of the farmer. Without them he can neither till his fields nor carry his crop to the market.

His cow is the best doctor for himself and his wife and, above all, for his children. If you would see your children strong give the mother milk before your child is born and while she is nursing your child ; later give the child all the milk it can consume. Again what is the use of spending time and money in devising improved agricultural implements if the bullocks are too feeble to pull these better implements ? Therefore my friends if you would help India, help the cultivator and one of the best ways to help the cultivator is to improve the breed of cattle all over the country. Now I will tell you about my plan. I have bought two fine bulls and I am going to make them available to cultivators for breeding purposes. They will travel in a motor van and thus be at the disposal of distant villages whenever required.

Now let me introduce to you my two distinguished friends. See what noble animals they are. It is an honour for any man to caress such lovely creatures. Look at his skin so fine and loose, showing high breeding. His fine head, his straight back, his shapely shoulder and strong quarters. His strong limbs, big bone, big knees and big hooks. As for milk, the mothers of these bulls have yielded over 5,000 lbs. in a lactation period of less than 300 days. You will be interested to hear, I am sure, that I am providing a third bull. This I propose to present to the local pinjrapole for breeding purposes. Now my friends, may I say that I hope that other gentlemen may follow my example? They will make me very happy if they will do this and their generosity will be of infinite value to the country. I shall certainly write a personal letter to any gentleman who will support in this way my anxious desire not just to talk about agricultural improvement, but to effect it."

6. MILK FOR UNDER-NOURISHED CHILDREN

The Simla Municipality introduced a scheme for supply of a pound of milk in two half-pound bottles daily to children of indigent parents, selected by school medical officers, who might be suffering from malnutrition. Extract from Lord Linlithgow's speech on the occasion of the free distribution of milk by the Municipality on May 25, 1936 :— **May 25, 1936**

" To my mind, one of the most valuable features of this experiment is the care with which the relevant records are being maintained. I do not know whether there is available a basis for comparison in the shape of the normal weight and height increase of children of the same age and class in this district who are dependent on the ordinary diet prevailing and who do not receive this liberal supply of milk. If these facts are not available, I venture to suggest that the deficiency should be supplied, for it is only by a comparison of this kind that the true merits of improved diet can be accurately assessed.

I notice with extreme satisfaction that throughout India there is growing recognition of the vital significance of human nutrition, and in truth it is impossible to overstate the importance of this. Sufficiency of diet to maintain the fullest activity of mind and body is an essential matter at every stage of life. But it is pertinent to notice the indisputable fact that it is the immature tissues of childhood and adolescence which are most prone to lasting and irreparable hurt as a consequence of malnutrition. That is one of the prime reasons that move me in my determination to do what I can to stress the immense importance to India of improving her cattle, and to link up that campaign with the vital matter of milk as an absolute necessity of diet for the mother before and after the birth of her child, and for the child during the early years of growth and development.

Nourishment in early life is not the only essential for health, but it is the foundation for health, and its absence inflicts upon the growing organism damage which no subsequent condition can repair.

What, indeed, is the use of spending public funds on objects such as education, welfare schemes and the like if the people have not the health and vigour of mind and body to take full advantage of them and to enjoy them ? What, indeed, can we hope for from political constitutions unless we apply ourselves without delay, and with persistence, vision and courage, to the improvement of the physical constitution of the common run of men and women ? For in truth the response of the individual to the opportunities of life, whether economic, cultural, or political, is inevitably inadequate in the absence of that vigour and ambition, and of that joy in life, which belong to the possessor of a healthy and balanced mind linked to a healthy body."

7. RESEARCH IN HUMAN NUTRITION

June 18, 1936

Addressing the opening meeting of the Nutrition Advisory Committee on June 18, 1936, Lord Linlithgow pointed out that agricultural research was to be in full swing shortly at the new Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research at Delhi, and suggested that an excellent opportunity was thus afforded to create a permanent liaison between workers in the two branches of research. Text of speech :—

" I think you will understand the satisfaction I find in addressing to you this afternoon a few words of welcome and encouragement upon the occasion of this meeting of the Nutrition Committee of the Indian Research Fund Association, for it will be within your recollection that the Royal Commission on Agriculture laid stress upon the immense importance to India of the subject of Human Nutrition, and indeed recommended the setting up of this Committee. Since the Royal Commission reported, I have found myself in more or less constant touch with this fascinating field of enquiry, both as Chairman of the Medical Research Council of the Privy Council and also as Chairman of the Market Supply Committee in Great Britain. I am sure that you will agree with me when I say that as each passing year brings its crop of new discovery, and as the secrets of nature are successively laid bare by the patient labour of the research worker, the observer is, more and more impressed by the immense importance to mankind of this branch of knowledge. In no country is the subject of greater importance than in India. I rejoice to find that during the last ten years public opinion in this country has shown an ever growing interest in the problems of Human Nutrition, and I am persuaded that the time has come when all concerned should apply themselves with renewed energy and enthusiasm, not only to the active prosecution of research in this field, but also to the practical application in the homes of the people, of the fruits of that research in terms of the diet of the population both in the rural areas and in the towns.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture envisaged the setting up of a Central Institute of Human Nutrition, but lack of funds has hitherto prevented the implementing of that recommendation. The Commission also advised that a link should be established between research on the problems of Human Nutrition and Agricultural Research. I have faith that the future will witness the founding of such a Central Institute of Human Nutrition. Meantime, I invite you to consider at this meeting the expediency of establishing a point of contact between these two branches of Science.

Agricultural Research will shortly be in full swing at the new Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research at Delhi. I suggest to you that the inauguration of this station affords an excellent opportunity to create a permanent liaison between research workers in Human Nutrition and those engaged in Agricultural Research by the appointment of an expert in Human Nutrition to work in the Delhi Agricultural Institute. I have no doubt that such an appointment would be welcomed by the whole staff of Agricultural Research workers

and, I am confident that such an arrangement would prove to be of substantial value to all concerned.

I said a moment ago that in my opinion the time has come to press forward with the difficult matter of making available to the general public the fruits of research on Human Nutrition. This of course is a function that belongs to Provincial Governments and their Officers. I cannot but feel that here is an opportunity for the further exploitation of that principle of joint endeavour between the Provinces and Central Research Institutions which is so happily exemplified in the existing arrangements for Agricultural Research. The Nutrition Institutes at Coonoor and Calcutta already have to their credit much work of the utmost value. It is my earnest hope that the Provinces will make the fullest use of that material, and that they will suggest for investigation by the Central Institutes any special problems with which they may be confronted.

The question of how best to convey to the public the essential facts of diet in its relation to health is one that is deserving of close and systematic study by all concerned. In this context I must mention to you one factor to which I personally attach paramount importance. I am entirely convinced that whether we are concerned to advance among the rural population improved agricultural practice; or better sanitation and hygiene; or better nutrition, we shall find that our best endeavours will achieve little that will endure unless and until literacy is imparted to the women of the countryside. We may bring about some considerable degree of improvement under existing conditions by means of intensive propaganda and close supervision. But in default of female literacy it will be found that whenever supervision is removed, there will be a relapse into age-old customs, and that within a few months nothing will be left of the better living that has been so laboriously inculcated.

I leave you now to your deliberations in the confident hope that these may be fruitful of much good for the people of this land."

8. TRANSPORT PROBLEMS

Speech in opening the Session of the Transport Advisory Council on July 13, 1936 :— **July 13, 1936**

"It is now over three years since the Government of India convened the Road-Rail Conference as the first step towards finding practical solutions of the many difficult problems created by the arrival of a new form of transport in the field previously reserved for railways, and, in certain parts of India, inland water transport. Railways and inland water transport have co-existed for many years. In their nature roads and inland waterways are not competitive and, while the interests of the latter must be observed in any co-ordinated system our immediate concern is with roads and railways. The Road-Rail Conference was immediately followed by a detailed discussion between the representatives of the Government of India and of Local Governments, the first fruits of which were the creation of the Transport

Advisory Council and the creation or reorganization of Boards of Communication in the Provinces. The Transport Advisory Council, as you will recall, held its first meeting in January 1935.

You have been called together to discuss and to give your advice upon a problem of the utmost importance and of no little complexity, which today, in one form or another, is exercising the minds of administrators throughout the world. In every civilised country the endeavour is being made to formulate the principles upon which in this regard policy should rest. The precise nature of the problem differs in accordance with the circumstances obtaining in each country, but, in your deliberations, you will no doubt seek to profit by the experience of other countries wherever that experience may seem capable of contributing towards a right solution of our own problem.

I do not propose this morning to attempt any detailed survey of the manifold considerations that you will require to take into review in arriving at the conclusions and recommendations which you will submit to the several Governments represented at this Conference. If, therefore, I make particular reference to one of those considerations, it must not be assumed that I do not take due cognisance of others, including those which bear in a direction different from that one to which I shall now refer.

It is beyond doubt or dispute that the great contribution which railways the world over have rendered towards economic development has depended in great degree upon their adoption of a system of rate-making based, not upon the cost of the service rendered, but rather upon what the traffic can bear. By this device a profitable outlet has been found for a variety of commodities quite unable to bear freight rates appropriate to an invariable system of rate-fixing. Thus the goods classification obtaining on our railways, based as it is upon a compromise between value and cost of service, has played an important part in the agricultural and industrial development of the country. It represents in the economic structure an essential element which could not be effaced or, indeed, too abruptly modified without bringing about a most serious dislocation of trade.

The nature of the threat which road traffic offers to this system of railway rate-making arises, of course, from the tendency of those commodities capable of bearing the higher charges to gravitate away from the railways and towards the motor lorry. If this tendency is allowed to develop without check it must eventually give rise to a situation in which so considerable a part of the more profitable traffic will have been transferred from rail to road that the railways will be driven, in the attempt to maintain solvency, to recast the system of rates to the detriment of those classes of traffic least able to carry any increased charge for transportation. It cannot be too plainly stated that this process would lead inevitably and in a very short time to profound disturbances in relative market values and to a very serious dislocation of the whole commercial structure; while upon agriculture, the effects of such a revolution would be most damaging, and, as regards the saleability of certain types of produce, probably lethal.

The great importance of railway finance both to the Centre and to the Provinces, and its peculiar significance in relation to the distribution of Income-tax to the Provinces, as recently emphasised in the Report of Sir Otto Niemeyer, are matters to which you will doubtless give due weight in your deliberations.

You will be invited to discuss measures designed to promote the safety and convenience of the travelling public, including the inter-relation of services and time-tables. In this connection it is evident that where road traffic, and in particular motor buses, are conducted by concerns commanding adequate capital resources and owning a considerable number of vehicles, which concerns can be relied upon to fulfil specific obligations accepted by them in return for privileges granted, it is feasible to systematise the services provided in a manner and to an extent which is quite impracticable under conditions in which road traffic is in the hands of individuals or of small 'mushroom' companies running, it may be, no more than a single vehicle. Again, regularity and efficiency of service depend in no small degree upon accumulated experience in management and administration. The public, therefore, has a direct interest in the financial stability and continuity of concerns conducting road transport.

Let me assure you that my Government will strive constantly both to improve the services, of all kinds, available to the public upon the Railways, and to effect all possible economies in their management.

I am confident that you will approach your difficult task in a spirit of good-will and co-operation, and I trust that you will succeed in recommending a workable policy whereby Road and Rail, as complementary systems of transportation, may be further developed for the benefit of the people of India."

9. INDIA'S PREMIER INDUSTRY

Over the whole range of agricultural improvement let the word be "Full speed ahead!"—exhorts Lord Linlithgow addressing the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research on July 16, 1936 :— **July 16, 1936**

"It gives me great satisfaction that within 12 weeks of my assuming charge of Office as Viceroy I am afforded this opportunity to address the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, and to welcome to the headquarters of my Government representatives of the Agricultural and Veterinary Services from every Province in India, and from representative Indian States, to whose number I am glad to welcome the addition of Kashmir.

The establishment of the Council marked the acceptance by the Government of India of the most important of the recommendations of the Royal Commission in the field of Research. I think it is generally agreed that the experience of the last seven years has demonstrated the suitability of the scheme for the purposes for which it was devised. Those purposes, in the words of the Commission's Report, are to promote,

guide and co-ordinate agricultural research throughout India, and to link it with agricultural research in other parts of the British Empire and in foreign countries. In advancing this recommendation, my colleagues and I were moved by the hope that the setting up of the Imperial Council would strengthen and extend the spirit of co-operation and mutual help between the Centre and the Provinces in the great work of agricultural improvement. Our investigations had impressed us with the very important part which central organizations play in the field of agricultural research and of rural development in countries such as the United States of America, Canada and Australia. We were convinced that we could render no greater service to the cause of agricultural progress in India than by seeking to discover means to counter the growing decline in co-ordination between Centre and Provinces, and between Province and Province, which had become increasingly evident to all observers in this country, and which had its origin in the constitutional changes that had taken place. We were mindful, too, of the further constitutional developments which were then under consideration, and which have since taken statutory shape in the Act of 1935, and deliberately we set ourselves to frame a plan in harmony with those changes that are now imminent.

I have watched with close and sympathetic interest the work of the Imperial Council since its inception, and I can say with truth that that work and its consequences throughout India have fulfilled the hopes of those of us who were responsible for recommending its constitution. Let me add, however, and here I am sure that I speak for all my colleagues of the Royal Commission—that the best of plans must depend for their success upon the skill and devotion of those that execute them, and let me take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the manner in which all concerned with the work of the Council have contributed to the success of this common endeavour.

I have done what I could since I returned to India to make myself familiar with some of the current activities of the Council. I cannot in the time at my disposal, touch upon more than a few of these, but I think you will recognise that there is no branch of your work in which I do not find myself deeply interested, and most anxious to extend to you such support as may lie in my power to afford.

In contemplating the functions of the Council, I have always felt that the most useful service which it would be in a position to perform, would be the dissemination of scientific and technical information. I have made some enquiries upon the point and I understand that the scheme considered by you in 1930 for an Agricultural Information and Intelligence Bureau had to be laid aside on account of financial stringency. I have been at pains to acquaint myself with the facilities at present provided for dissemination of information, and I recognise that these are by no means inconsiderable. It is for you to judge, as the means become available, to which projects priority ought to be given, but I am unable to resist the conclusion that this is a matter to which you may well think that further attention may usefully be given in the not distant future.

I gather that your efforts have hitherto been to a large extent concentrated upon a limited number of important crops such as wheat, rice, sugar and fruit. Cotton has of course received continuous attention from the special Committee concerned, while jute will shortly be placed in a like position. I was glad recently to have an opportunity of visiting the temporary Hill Laboratory in Simla, and to examine there the work in progress on Cereal Rusts and on potato-breeding. I am particularly glad to learn that you have now turned your activities towards research in "dry farming", and to know that research work is being directed towards the improvement of that very important group of food grains, the millets. I venture the opinion that this work will prove to be of great value. I attach importance to it not only because of the large area still under these crops, but because of the advantage that will accrue from any material improvement of the millets and from a better system of "dry-farming", to many of the poorest cultivated districts in India.

I was privileged, a little while ago, to open the First Session of the Advisory Committee on Human Nutrition, upon which Committee there were two representatives of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. I suggested upon that occasion, that a trained research worker in human nutrition might be accommodated in the new Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Delhi, and I am encouraged to think that this step may prove feasible. I feel sure that there are many opportunities for co-operation between these two branches of scientific research. Let me give only one instance. The area under heavy-yielding varieties of staple crops now amounts to some 20 million acres, and is steadily expanding. These are the crops as to which, of recent years, there has been over-production throughout the world. Have we not reached in this regard a point when we may expect this expanding area under high yielding varieties of those staple crops to release a considerable amount of land for the growing of leguminous crops, so that both men and animals may find available a better balanced diet ?

The extent to which the welfare of the rural population is indissolubly linked with an improvement in the breeding and feeding of cattle and buffaloes is patent, and I am indeed happy to note that the number of animal husbandry schemes receiving grants is now steadily increasing. I understand that the earliest of these schemes, the maintenance of a Disease Investigation Officer in each Province to form a link with the Central Veterinary Research Institute at Muktesar, has proved an unqualified success and has led to a degree of precision in the knowledge of animal diseases which was previously lacking, as well as to a fuller exploitation in the country-side of the results of the research work carried on in Muktesar, a striking example of this being the very successful goat vaccine method of protecting cattle against Rinderpest.

I look to you with all confidence to support me and the Governors of Provinces in our efforts to make available to cultivators an adequate supply of good stud-bulls. I have been greatly encouraged by the response of the public to my appeal for the gift of such animals, and

I note with the utmost satisfaction that the movement continues to gain impetus. In an endeavour of this nature, two things are of cardinal importance: continuity of effort, and the proper recording of results. The registration of pedigree stock and of the progeny of good sires is a most important step in the improvement of any breed, while in the case of milch breeds, the recording of performance in terms of milk yield is the essential basis of selection for breeding. I am glad to know that the Standing Cattle Breeding Committee of this Council is to meet tomorrow and that these important matters will find a place upon its agenda. This Committee will also, I understand, take under review the detailed preparation of a study of the milk supply in villages. It is only upon exact information of this kind that it will be possible to formulate a sound breeding policy designed to secure a better milk supply for the general population, an object worthy of our utmost endeavours.

I am glad to note that the improvement of marketing is receiving your attention, and I look forward with interest to a study of the results of the several marketing surveys now being carried out. The collection of information of this character over a region so extensive must necessarily take time, but in my experience—which in this field is considerable—it will prove in the outcome to be time well spent.

It gives me very great pleasure to be able to announce today that, thanks to the friendly co-operation of the governing bodies of the Rothamsted Experimental Station and the Hannah Dairy Research Institute of Ayrshire, arrangements have been made for Sir John Russell, F.R.S., Director of the Rothamsted Station, and Dr. N. C. Wright, the well-known Dairying Expert, to visit India and to give us the benefit of their expert advice. These gentlemen are outstanding figures in their respective fields, and it is beyond question that their collaboration may be relied upon to produce results of great and lasting value.

Surveying the whole field of agricultural improvement as this presents itself to me after an absence from the country of nine years, I think it is true to say that at no time has the position of agricultural research presented a more healthy or promising appearance. In the field of demonstration and propaganda I think the time has come when all concerned should ask themselves whether the machinery whereby the fruits of research are made available to the cultivator is adequate to the great opportunities for advance which now present themselves. In this connection, I cannot but feel that the establishment of a greater degree of co-ordination than would appear at present to exist between District Officers and the officers of other Departments of Government—Public Works, Irrigation, Agricultural, Veterinary and Co-operation—would strengthen materially the means at disposal for promoting agricultural improvement as well as rural betterment in the widest sense.

There can be no doubt but that public interest in agricultural improvement is everywhere increasing, and I am informed by experienced officers that the readiness to receive expert advice now-a-days displayed by cultivators is in marked contrast to the indifference

shown but a few years ago in many areas towards the ministrations of the agricultural officer. The road is clear for a great advance in India's premier industry. Let us seize with all eagerness the opportunity thus presented. Over the whole range of agricultural improvement let the word be 'Full speed ahead'!"

10. RESEARCH MUST ENRICH THE CULTIVATOR

Co-ordination in order to secure that the whole of India benefited from the experience of every part in spheres in which the Provinces were independent of the Centre even before the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, was brought about through bodies like the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. Addressing the meeting of the Governing Body of the Council attended by representatives from Provinces and States, on August 28, 1936, Lord Linlithgow said in the course of his speech :— **Aug. 28, 1936**

"Apprehension has been expressed in some quarters lest the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy may lead to a renewal of that lack of co-ordination in the field of agricultural research which, during the past decade, has been so successfully countered by the labours of the Imperial Council. That the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform was sensible of this danger, is evident from the following passage in their report: 'Whatever criticisms may have been levelled in the past against an excessive centralisation of Government in India, they can have little application to the facilities thereby created for the pooling of ideas and of method so as to enable the whole of India to benefit from the administrative experience of every part. It would be deplorable if the establishment of Provincial Autonomy were to lead the Provinces to suppose that each could regard itself as self-sufficient, or to tempt the Centre to disinterest itself in the efforts which it has made in the past to collect and co-ordinate information for general use'.

Speaking here today in the presence of you, Gentlemen, who hold the very responsible position of Ministers of Agriculture in your several Provinces, I am happy to say that while I appreciate the grounds upon which rest the fears to which I have referred, and while I am not at all disposed to regard these grounds as of no account, yet I am confident that means are available to protect the future in this regard, and to ensure the continued co-operation between Centre and Provinces for this essential endeavour. For this end I rely with the utmost confidence upon the statesmanship of Ministers in the Provinces and, in due course, of Ministers of the Federal Government, as well as upon an informed public opinion determined to support such administrative measures as are best calculated to ensure the steady and uninterrupted progress of agricultural improvement in every Province of India. With confidence I look to you, Gentlemen, to ensure the progressive enlightenment of public thought on this question. The case for the continuance and indeed the enhancement of co-operation and of combined endeavour is overwhelmingly strong.

It rests upon the practice and experience of all other countries in which conditions approximate to those obtaining in India, and it derives from the history of agricultural research in this country since the setting up of the Imperial Council an authority that is completely convincing. Agricultural Research will merit and will receive public support in proportion as the results of research are translated into field practice appropriate to the conditions in which the cultivator works, and as they are thereafter brought home to the villager. The results of research become effective only when by these processes they render the business of farming more profitable. Both through the Research Council and its own Research institutes, the Government of India will continue to aid, as fully as its finances permit, the development and co-ordination of Agricultural Research and the dissemination of information. But in the main the application of results in practice must essentially depend on the building up by Provincial Governments of adequate organizations for demonstration, extension and development work in agriculture and animal husbandry. I am well aware of the extent to which financial considerations have, in recent years, limited the expansion of work of this nature. I am mindful, too, of the very encouraging results that have been already achieved in many branches of agricultural improvement. My earnest hope is that, by constantly seeking to improve the technique of demonstration and propaganda, Departments of Agriculture throughout India may succeed in progressively enhancing the practical results obtained for money disbursed, while at the same time equipping themselves with a systematized body of knowledge and experience in this difficult field such as may enable them, as further funds become available, fully to exploit the wide opportunities for service that lie before them. I need not add that I shall watch with anxious care the development of their activities, and that I shall lose no opportunity of supporting by every means in my power their efforts to bring about that which I regard as the most vital matter before Governments in India, the improvement of agriculture throughout the country.

The establishment, wherever possible, of more efficient and more orderly methods of marketing should, in my opinion, contribute materially to the prosperity of agriculture, and I am glad to learn that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has been closely associated with the efforts which the Government of India are making to improve agricultural marketing in India. The stage has now been reached when many of the Provincial marketing reports have been received and the preparation of the all-India reports has been undertaken for a number of commodities. It was hoped that the earliest of these reports would be in print by the time the meeting of the Governing Body took place, but the rechecking of some important details, and the reconciliation of apparent discrepancies by further Provincial enquiry, have taken longer than was expected. In consequence the first reports will not come out before October. In the meantime, some preliminary development work has been put in hand as a result of indications obtained during the surveys. The possibility of uniform standards for wheat and of uniform future contracts in

that commodity has been discussed with a number of representatives of grain trade associations and flour millers and a large measure of agreement has been reached. The question is now being actively pursued in consultation with the associations concerned. Similarly an unofficial meeting of tanners has led to a considerable measure of agreement regarding the grading of hides for use in the Indian tanning industry. It is hoped to establish shortly an experimental packing and grading station for eggs and another for fruit. At its last meeting the Advisory Board of the Council discussed, in the light of information at present available, the lines on which development might take place.

The conclusions arrived at are tentative, but I am glad to know that you will be invited to consider them as indicating some possible lines of development. Progress in this matter must, in the initial stage, inevitably be by slow degrees, and—of my own experience—I would only say that to attempt in this very difficult and complex field to frame policy before all the relevant facts are made available, is to court disappointment.

I am most grateful to the Governing Body for the alacrity with which you have adopted my suggestion for the undertaking of a series of surveys in typical areas of the conditions regarding milk supply in villages. That small scheme is a corollary to a larger one and is also preparatory for further efforts. If we are to proceed to good purpose in the improvement of our cattle-breeding, it is essential to provide a correct economic background. It is equally necessary that we should know the amount of milk available under village conditions for the cultivator and his family if we are to make progress with planned production directed to the better feeding of our population.

I thank you, also, for your effective co-operation with me and with the Governors of Provinces in our efforts to bring about, throughout India, an early improvement in the breeds of cattle. . . .

I leave you now to your consideration of the various important questions that find a place on your agenda."

11. "SEARCH FOR TRUTH"

Lord Linlithgow's advice to the pupils of the Bishop Cotton School, Simla, at the Prize-giving ceremony on September 12, 1936:— **Sept. 12, 1936**

" I would like, if I can, to say just a word or two to you that some of you may care to remember and which may be of some help to you.

Advice can never take the place of experience. That which advice can sometimes do is to make experience more fruitful of good ; to help us the better to understand the lessons of life ; and when those lessons are sharp and unwelcome, to bear them with an even and unruffled mind.

I want to talk to you about truth. You have been taught, for as long as you can remember, to tell the truth and not to speak lies. You know that no person who is untruthful can be good ; or can have self-respect, or peace of mind. You will find too that Truth is the

only foundation of honour, and the surest source of a man's influence with his fellow-men.

When you come across someone of whom those who know him say " so-and-so told me such and such a thing, so it must be true "—you are dealing, believe me, with a man to be reckoned with.

But there are other aspects of Truth not quite so obvious as those with which I have been dealing. We have been thinking about Truth as between ourselves and others. There is also, and just as important, the matter of Truth within ourselves.

There is no more damaging weakness than self-deception: the habit of refusing to look facts in the face. Nor is any one of those weaknesses to which we are all prone, more difficult to put away.

Then there is an old friend to which we give the description " Eye Wash ", but which is really no more than a form of untruth. For eye-wash means that we are concerned deliberately to deceive someone into thinking that we have done something which we know we ought to have done, but have not bothered to do. Credit so gained is not worth having.

Quite a number of people who have plenty of natural intelligence, fail to make the best of themselves because they never acquire the habit of taking pains to find out where it is that truth really is.

No one can possess what we call good judgment, which is about the same thing as an instinct for recognising Reasonable Probabilities, whose mind is not trained to follow truth. And in many of the most important things of life, Reasonable Probabilities are our only guides.

No one can be a good Artist, or appreciate good Art, or criticize it, unless they seek steadfastly after truth. So also with letters.

For Truth is the discipline that makes our imagination our faithful servant rather than our cruel master.

One word more.—Don't suppose that Truth is an easy thing to come by, for it is indeed a most difficult one. Nor in this life can any of us ever attain to complete truth. We can but do our best.

Above all, don't put off beginning your search for truth on the ground of any feeling that the thing will be easier of achievement later on. For believe me, as life moves on, these things become harder and not more easy.

Again, don't be deterred by failure. It is quite certain that the effort will make a heavy call upon your courage. But hold on bravely, for the prize is worth the labour.

You will draw strength, for your efforts after truth, from many sources; from your religion; from those whom you love; from the lives of those heroes whom you admire; and—if you choose them wisely—from the books you read. Here are some words, written in 1625 by a great Englishman, Francis Bacon. Their meaning carries most of what is best worth knowing. He wrote 'Certainly it is Heaven upon Earth to have a man's mind move in Charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the Poles of Truth.' "

12. FIRST ADDRESS TO CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

Lord Linlithgow first addressed the members of both Houses of the Indian Legislature on September 21, 1936. This was the last session of the Council of State (Upper House), before the general elections, and His Excellency took the opportunity to pay " a tribute to the invaluable work which the Council of State has done under the sage and experienced guidance of its President, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy." His Excellency said :— **Sept. 21, 1936**

" Consisting as it does of Members of proved experience in many walks of life, its balanced judgment on the problems that have come before it and the pains which it has invariably taken to reach a just and objective decision on the many controversial issues with which it has been faced, entitle it in a high degree to our gratitude and our esteem."

Briefly dealing with the more important matters under the consideration of his Government, His Excellency said that among them the first in importance was unquestionably the problem of middle class unemployment. He had spared no effort to familiarize himself with the various aspects of the problem and the methods of grappling with it. His Government were actively investigating the avenues opened up by the very valuable report of the Sapru Committee and were leaving nothing undone to devise methods of dealing with " what is one of the fundamental issues of the present day in most countries of the world ".

Several developments of interest and importance concerning the position of Indians overseas, had marked the previous months. Lord Linlithgow said :—

" Representatives of the Government and the Parliament of South Africa are already in India, and I take this, the first public opportunity that has presented itself, of extending to them the warmest of welcomes on behalf of India as a whole. My Government have, I am glad to say, been able to afford Indians in Zanzibar the expert guidance and advice of one of my officers in connection with the difficulties which they have been experiencing. The question of the reservation of the Kenya Highlands has been settled on a basis which represents the admission of a principle for which India has consistently contended. The decisions taken as to the future composition of the Legislative Council in Fiji may be regarded as satisfactory from the Indian standpoint. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act of 1936 will be of material benefit to Indians in the Transvaal. It is but natural that India should display a continuing and active interest in the problems affecting her citizens overseas. And it is a source of keen satisfaction to me on this, the first occasion on which I address the Legislature, that the recent record of achievement in safeguarding those interests should have been so encouraging."

It was his earnest hope that the negotiations then in progress with Representatives of the Japanese Government for the conclusion of a new commercial agreement, would reach a fruitful outcome. He

was sure that the Government's decision to appoint in the near future an Indian Trade Commissioner to Japan and to Mombasa, would be welcome.

He was glad that His Majesty's Government had given full weight to Indian feeling in the matter of safeguards for the special Indian interests connected with the Aden Settlement.

"As you are I think aware, two problems to which I attach the utmost importance are that of public health, and the problem of nutrition as affecting human beings and animals alike. The problem of nutrition is at all times one of vital concern to any country, and on its solution hinges essentially the future of India as a whole. No effort that can be made to ameliorate conditions and to assist in the solution of this problem can be too great; and you may rest assured of my own continued and abiding personal interest in it. Hardly less material in its relation to the development and progress of India is the problem of Public Health. In this field, in particular, co-operation and the maximum degree of continued and co-ordinated effort between the Central and the Provincial Governments is essential. I am most anxious that all possible assistance should be available to those concerned with the investigations of the many difficult issues that arise, and with the practical application of such remedial measures as may be required. I am accordingly taking active steps for the establishment of a Central Public Health Advisory Board which, in collaboration with the Provincial Governments and with a constitution somewhat analogous to that of the Central Advisory Board of Education shall apply itself to the realisation of this ideal.

I have, since I assumed my present office, done all that lies in my power to stimulate and encourage rural development, and the response after even so short a time has in my judgment been most encouraging. But in devoting my attention to agriculture and its problems, I have not ignored the legitimate claims of Industry, and I am taking a close interest in the problems of Industry and in particular in the co-ordination and development of industrial research. In this connection I cannot but affirm my conviction that no steps can be taken which will be more effective in promoting the expansion of commerce and industry than those designed to enhance the purchasing power of the rural population.

Before I pass to a consideration of the great constitutional developments which lie before us, it is proper that I should take the opportunity to mention the debt under which we labour to Sir Laurie Hammond and his Committee, and to Sir Otto Niemeyer. The investigations of Sir Otto Niemeyer have left us fully seized of the financial position of the Centre and the Provinces alike, a state of things essential to the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and of Federation. To Sir Laurie Hammond and his Committee we owe the well-balanced and carefully considered recommendations on which the constituencies for the future legislative bodies will essentially be based.

The stage is now set for Provincial Autonomy, and on the 1st April 1937 that fundamental constitutional change will come into being. With its inauguration takes place the first of the stages in the transmutation of the Indian constitutional position. The second stage, the stage of Federation, lies ahead of the stage of Provincial Autonomy. But, as I have endeavoured on various occasions to make clear, I am myself of opinion that the interval between Provincial Autonomy and Federation must inevitably be a very short one. I am not blind to the difficult and delicate problems which arise in connection with the inauguration of the Federation, and in particular with the accession to it of the Ruling Princes. But I am taking all possible steps to expedite the investigation and disposal of those problems, and to lighten the burden of those on whom there falls the responsibility of a decision so important as that which accession to the Federation constitutes. The question, in all its aspects, is receiving day by day my own close personal attention, and you can rely upon me, Gentlemen, to leave nothing undone that lies within my power, to remove any misunderstandings or misapprehensions which may exist, and to facilitate the task of those on whom there fall the momentous responsibilities involved.

Of the intricacy of the problem I am, in the light of my own experience, fully conscious. Indeed I am moved on occasions to ask myself whether those of us who have laboured in India and in London, upon the three Round Table Conferences, upon the Joint Select Committee, or in Parliament itself, as supporters or as critics of the great scheme of constitutional reform enshrined in the Act of 1935, whether we are not in some danger of finding ourselves so engrossed in the multifarious details of the plan as to lose sight of the essential outlines of the structure and, at times, even of the splendid vision that has moved and inspired its inception. And in truth the moment has come for a due appraisement of the fabric as a whole, for we may number by weeks the time that now separates us from the commencement of Provincial Autonomy, while the strong probability is that the transitory period between the achievement of Provincial Autonomy and the inauguration of the Federation of India, will be of short duration.

As we attempt such an appraisement, the spectacle that confronts our eyes is rendered the more impressive by reason of its contrast with the dark and ominous background of contemporary world events. In Europe we see an array of dictatorships risen from the ashes of those liberal systems of government which preceded them, each aiming feverishly against a possible crisis that all fear and none desire ; while civil war, in its cruellest and most destructive shape, despoils a nation once supreme alike in the Old World and the New. Again, in many parts of the world, we become aware of the recrudescence of the rule of force, and in one guise or another, of the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

These are the world conditions in which, by the joint statesmanship of Britain and India, there is about to be initiated in this country an

experiment in representative self-government, which for breadth of conception and boldness of design is without parallel in history; these the circumstances in which the British People and Parliament have seen fit to offer to India a constitution which by its liberal principles, stands in such impressive contrast to those political tendencies which are evident over wide areas of the World. And if the constitutional changes now impending predicate the remarkable growth of Indian political consciousness in terms both of the desire for self-government and of a growing realisation of the essential unity of India, so also those changes connote a profound modification of British policy towards India as a member of the Commonwealth. For indeed by their very nature they involve nothing less than the discarding of the old ideas of Imperialism for new ideals of partnership and co-operation.

In April of next year there will come into being eleven autonomous Provinces, some of them as extensive in area and with populations as large as many European countries. Over these great areas Indian statesmen will be called upon to bear the heavy burden of responsibility for the entire field of civil government in the provincial sphere. When the vast electorates, aggregating some 35 million persons, go to the polls to choose their representatives in their respective Legislatures, to which those Ministers will be responsible, the individual voter will have a new duty and a new opportunity. For by their choice the electors will be deciding not merely upon the person to represent them in the Legislature, but they will be contributing directly towards shaping the course of public policy in their Province. For the trend of government, legislative and administrative, must needs move in the direction indicated by the will of a majority of the electorate.

We are witnessing at the moment in every Province in India that which is an essential preliminary to the successful working of democratic constitutions, namely, the formation or development of political parties. Having myself had some share in party management in my own country, I am observing with no little interest the progress of events. My own experience suggests that it is easy, at such a juncture, to over-estimate the power of the party manager to influence the course of party evolution, and to fall into the capital error of forgetting that in these matters it is the electorate that shapes parties as well as policies.

I do not doubt that there will emerge, at the outset of the change, points of difficulty and uncertainty. That in all the circumstances is inevitable. But I am confident that such minor difficulties will early be surmounted. The essential fact is that upon the 1st of April next year we are destined to embark upon the first stage of this remarkable political adventure. From that moment these great political entities will move forward into the future, the objects—we may be sure—of intense local patriotism, proud of their history, confident in their future, determined, each one of them, to play a worthy part in that new India which is now taking shape before our eyes.

Such, then, are the eleven autonomous Provinces which, in union with such of the Indian States as may choose to accede, will constitute the Federation of India, that majestic structure which by the statesmanlike vision of the Indian Princes was transmuted in a moment from what was no more than a dim and uncertain outline into a project firm and practicable—a project which now appears as an essential part of the scheme of constitutional development. Here again, I feel doubt as to whether those of us in day-to-day contact with the complex problems attaching to the launching of such a project are able so far to detach ourselves as to envisage, in all its impressive mass, the mighty work upon which we are privileged to labour. The unitary system of government for so long the supreme authority in India is disappearing as we watch. In its place great autonomous Provinces make their appearance; and finally comes the Federation, crowning the entire structure and embracing and unifying within its bold and ample scope the common life and aspirations of one-fifth of the human race, dispersed over a sub-continent as large as Western Europe. Such will be the structure of government in India which, when the task is completed, will meet the gaze of a watching world: a spectacle whose dignity and grandeur will be not unworthy of this great and famous country.

One word more. It is axiomatic that the spirit in which a constitution is worked must in the long run count for more than the letter in which it is written. For myself I am able to assure you that, for such time as I may hold my present office, it is my intention to interpret my duty with a liberal and sympathetic mind. It has been my privilege, through a long and arduous period of work, to apply my mind to every aspect of the new constitution. I am well aware that there are those in this country who are dissatisfied with certain of its provisions. I accept the sincerity of their opinions even though I find myself unable to endorse their views. For my part I shall be found ready and anxious, when the time comes, to work to the best of my power, with any and every political party willing to work the constitution, that may succeed in winning the confidence of the electorates. My heartfelt plea to every man and woman of goodwill and public spirit is that they may give these Reforms a fair and reasonable trial, and that they will join with me and with the Governors of Provinces in an earnest endeavour to work the new Constitution in a spirit of tolerance and co-operation, for the honour and good of their motherland."

13. PALESTINE

Sept. 28, 1936

Lord Linlithgow was glad to receive, on September 28, 1936, a "weighty and representative" deputation of the Muslims of India on Palestine affairs. His Excellency emphasised the active interest with which his Government had been watching the situation and their desire to leave nothing undone to relieve the anxieties of the Muslims and remove any misapprehensions regarding the policy of His Majesty's Government and the position in Palestine. Proceeding :—

"There are certain aspects of this case on which I cannot but feel in the light of the representations that you have made to me that there is some misunderstanding, and I am glad to be able to reassure you in regard to them. In the first place, it is incorrect to suggest that steps are being or have been taken for the expropriation of Arab settlers or landholders. Not only is this not the case, but legislation has recently been put into force to protect the cultivator from the loss of his land by alienation, legislation the effect of which is, as you will appreciate, to ensure permanent occupancy rights to tenants. That there may be cases, and even many cases, in which individual Arabs, in response either to financial inducements or to those economic stresses from which the cultivator is in no country in the world exempt, have parted with landed property, it would be disingenuous of me to deny. But it would be no more legitimate to endeavour to establish on such a foundation a convincing argument of general application and validity than to take advantage of the protests which individual Arabs have in the past made against restrictions on the sale of land on the ground that such restrictions were not in the true interest of the Arab population.

On a different point, I can assure you that there is no shadow of foundation for the rumour to which you refer of the resignation of the High Commissioner.

I now turn to a matter of far greater importance, and that is the suggestion that there has been any violation of the sanctity of the holy places of Islam. For that suggestion there is no basis whatever. There has been no violation of the sanctity of the holy places. Nor is there any ground for holding that the pledges given in respect of them have not been observed in the fullest sense. It will be within your recollection that the provisions of the Mandate itself guarantee the immunities of the holy places in Palestine and also the right of each community to maintain its own schools and to enjoy freedom for its religious and eleemosynary bodies.

I observe that you refer in your address to the fact that the Balfour Declaration is a war measure. I entirely accept your suggestion that it was a measure which emerged from the special conditions of the Great War. But you will agree with me that it would not be possible to substantiate the claim that its operation, its extent, or its duration were in any way intended or announced to be limited to the period of the war. Nor is it the case that there is any limitation in the terms of the decisions taken at the time in question as to the nationality

or origin of the Jews who, in conformity with the terms of the Declaration, were to be permitted to make their home in Palestine.

The conflict which has arisen is essentially political and racial rather than religious in character—a point which it is important to bear in mind. But, whatever its character, the resulting situation is admittedly most unsatisfactory, and as you are well aware no one is more conscious of that fact or more anxious to take any steps that properly can be taken to remedy it than His Majesty's Government. I feel however that it is my duty, before proceeding further, to remove the feeling which appears to exist in some quarters, though not I think in the minds of this deputation, that the effect of the operation of the Palestine Mandate has been to prejudice the economic position of the Arab population. As I have already said, I can quite conceive that, in the circumstances I have described, individual Arabs may have parted with their land, and I appreciate the very natural anxiety of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine to retain the place which the Mandate has always contemplated that they should retain in that country. But such facts as are available to me go to suggest that the consequences of the operation of the Mandate have either directly or indirectly been, on a broad view, of a definitely beneficial character so far as the Arab population generally is concerned. I observe in the first place that there has been an increase in the Arab population between 1922 and the present day of well over 50 per cent., and the increase is, I understand, to a large extent in the area principally inhabited by the Jews. The number of citrus plantations owned by the Arabs has increased between 1931 and 1935 from 59,000 Dunums to 135,000 Dunums, and while the corresponding increase over the same period in the case of the Jews is from 66,000 to 160,000, it is quite clear that a very substantial improvement has taken place in the case of the Arab population. So far as general unemployment and financial conditions are concerned, you are well aware that before 1919, owing to the unsatisfactory character of the financial position, there was a not unsubstantial migration of Arabs from Palestine. My information goes to show that this is no longer the case, and that the tide has set in the opposite direction. It goes without saying, too, that, in as much as Jewish immigrants who have not a definite prospect of employment are required to be persons of independent means who possess a capital of not less than £1,000, the influx of new capital consequent upon their entry into Palestine must contribute to the economic prosperity of the country, and that the improvement in that economic prosperity must ensue to the benefit of the Arab as well as the Jewish inhabitants. The period of the Mandate has seen the establishment of co-operative societies in Palestine, the establishment of arrangements on a wide scale for the use of improved seed and improved agricultural appliances, and the initiation of an irrigation scheme. It stands to reason that developments of this nature cannot but have either directly or indirectly a beneficial effect on the general economic level of the country.

So much for the merely material side. But I am concerned too to dispel any suggestion that His Majesty's Government in the action

which they have been forced to take have disregarded Moslem feeling; that they have been actuated by any hostility to the Moslem world and to Moslem aspirations; or that (a suggestion to which reference is made in your remarks) they have endeavoured to crush the legitimate aspirations of the Arab population of Palestine. Nothing could be farther from the truth than any one of these suggestions. As regards the attitude of His Majesty's Government to Moslem feeling and the Moslem world, His Majesty the King, as you yourselves point out, has only in the last few weeks paid a visit to Turkey; while the prolonged negotiations which have taken place with the representatives of the Egyptian Government have concluded in a Treaty which has been accepted by the Egyptian people with satisfaction and as a real proof of the good-will and the friendly disposition of His Majesty's Government. In Palestine itself, His Majesty's Government throughout the present unfortunate disturbances have, as you are aware, received with much appreciation the friendly offers of well-disposed Arab rulers and notabilities to use their influence in attempts at conciliation, while in so far as there may be legitimate Arab grievances in the present situation, His Majesty's Government have announced the appointment of a Royal Commission to make recommendations for the removal of any such grievances or fears. And the Secretary of State for the Colonies has made it clear in the House of Commons in June last that while no Government, least of all a Mandatory Power responsible to the League of Nations, can undertake to carry out proposals still to be formulated and which it has therefore not yet seen, His Majesty's Government will certainly consider with the utmost care and with all possible weight any recommendations made by so authoritative a body as the proposed Royal Commission.

As for the suggestion that there has been any endeavour to crush legitimate Arab aspirations, the long and close connection with Arabia of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, and the friendly and cordial relations which subsist at the moment between His Majesty's Government, the Government of India, Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Kingdom of the Yemen and the Arab Sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf are the best answer to any suggestion of deliberate and calculated hostility. The steps which His Majesty's Government have now been reluctantly forced to take with a view to the re-establishment of law and order in Palestine are entirely separate from the merits of the matters which will fall to be investigated by the Royal Commission. Those steps are an essential preliminary to the investigations of the Royal Commission, and to the removal in the light of its recommendations of any legitimate Arab grievances or fears. To represent them as being aimed against the true interests of the Arab population would be entirely to misapprehend and misunderstand their object. Their object is to put an end to a campaign of violence and of terrorism, which it is not too much to regard as having passed beyond the control of responsible Arab leaders. It is my earnest hope, and I am sure the hope of all of us, that more mature reflection on the part of those concerned in Palestine may render them unnecessary, and may enable His Majesty's Govern-

ment to secure the calm and independent atmosphere which more than anything else is essential to the successful conduct of the investigations of the Commission, without the necessity of taking forcible action to re-establish that peace and good order which is in the common interest of Arab and Jew alike.

You are I think well aware of the limitations within which His Majesty's Government, having regard to the conditions under which a Mandate for Palestine has been assigned to them, are obliged to act. Their freedom of action is necessarily limited by the terms of the Mandate, which were defined by the Council of the League of Nations acting under the penultimate paragraph of Article 22 of the Covenant. But while, under the terms of the Mandate, His Majesty's Government are bound on the one hand to facilitate the development of a Jewish National Home, they are equally bound on the other hand to safeguard the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish inhabitants, and they have consistently kept this aspect of their responsibilities in the forefront. They have made it clear moreover, on more than one occasion, that the meaning which they attach to the phrase "Jewish National Home" is not, in their view, the imposition of a Jewish Nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but rather the development of a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and pride. Finally, in a statement issued only a few days ago, His Majesty's Government once again emphasized that in their view the obligations towards Jewish and non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, which are laid down in the League of Nations' Mandate, are in no sense irreconcilable; and the whole history of the administration of the Palestine Mandate makes it clear that pressure from extreme opinion on either side for the adoption of measures designed to satisfy one community or the other in a manner inconsistent with the dual obligation of the Mandate, has been consistently resisted. In particular His Majesty's Government made it clear, so long ago as 1930, that it must be realised, once for all, that it was useless for Jewish leaders to press them to conform their policy in regard to immigration and land to the aspirations of the more extreme sections of Zionist opinion.

I have aimed primarily in what I have said above at the removal of misunderstandings or misapprehensions, and I have touched only lightly on the attitude of the Government of India. Let me say in conclusion that the Government of India appreciate to the utmost the very natural anxieties of the Moslem subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor. They realise to the full the importance of Moslem feeling in a matter such as the present, and they are very conscious of the extreme importance of maintaining the closest contact with His Majesty's Government in regard to it. Throughout this crisis His Majesty's Government have been kept in the closest touch by the Government of India with all developments here and with all representations received. And I may add that not only has my Government taken the official steps which are appropriate in such circumstances to ensure that the fullest and most reliable information as to Moslem feeling was at all times available to His Majesty's

Government, but I have myself been in constant private communication with the Secretary of State. Lord Zetland, as you are well aware, is in a position to speak in the Cabinet with the authority of a former Governor of Bengal, and with a long and varied personal experience of India. I can at once assure you that there is no risk whatever of the Moslem case going by default, or of His Majesty's Government being left in ignorance of the attitude and the feelings of Indian Moslems. The arrangements which I have made to ensure that such information shall at all times be available have, in my judgment, worked well hitherto, and you need not fear that there will be any relaxation in the efforts of my Government to present Indian Moslem opinion as objectively, as promptly, and as completely as possible to His Majesty's Government at every stage of the present situation.

I have already mentioned the vital importance to Arabs as well as to Jews of the restoration at the earliest possible moment of law and order. It is my sincere and earnest trust that we may before very long see such an improvement in the situation as will enable the strong and representative Commission appointed by His Majesty's Government to carry out their investigations. Meanwhile I would appeal to you, Gentlemen, representing as you do responsible Muhammadan opinion throughout India, to do what you can to remove any impression on the part of members of your great community that their attitude is not appreciated by the Government of India or that it has not been represented to His Majesty's Government, and to use the great influence which you undoubtedly wield to ensure that in dealing with this subject, which is so important and which so deeply affects the religious susceptibilities of so many, the maximum of balance and of restraint shall be observed. You are too well acquainted with public life for it to be necessary for me to emphasize to you how often the task of Government in advancing a good case is hampered and made difficult by over-statements, or by pressure at an inappropriate time, from individuals or sections of the community who are not fully seized of the position as a whole and who by irresponsible action may prejudice the very cause they seek to serve; and I am confident that I can look for your assistance and your support in securing that balanced and considered approach to a problem of no little difficulty and delicacy which is best calculated to promote the results which you are so concerned to bring about."

14. MUSLIM COMMUNITY OF DELHI

Replying to the Address of Welcome from the Muslim Community of Delhi on October 28, 1936, Lord Linlithgow expressed his full appreciation of the pride taken by the Muslim Community in the close and long association of Delhi with Muslim culture and language and said :— **Oct. 28, 1936**

"I have listened with close attention to the various requests which you have asked me to consider. You will not expect me to deal in detail with all of those requests today. But I would like to refer briefly to one or two of the more important of them. I note in the first place the claim which you have advanced for the sympathy of Government for the Anglo-Arabic College and for the extension by Government of financial assistance to that institution in connection with its removal from its present site. You are I think aware that the position in regard to this matter is that the Government of India have not in recent years made building grants to any of the colleges in Delhi for the purpose of enabling those institutions to remove their buildings to the University site round Old Viceregal Lodge, and the only college which, as I understand it, is likely in the near future to move to this site intends to do so with the aid of funds privately raised and of grants made very many years ago by Government. I cannot, I fear, hold out any hope that the Government of India, as matters stand today, will be able for many years to come to make substantial grants for this purpose to any college, whether Hindu or Moslem. I understand, however, that a Committee has been appointed to investigate the financial position in regard to the transfer of the Colleges of the Delhi University, including the Anglo-Arabic College, to the new site, and it is clearly essential to await its report. You may however in any event rest assured of the sympathy of Government towards the College, whose good work is well known, although, as you will I am sure appreciate, the extent to which Government can assist it financially must depend upon the resources available and the claims of other equally deserving institutions.

I was very glad to hear what you told me of the interest which the Moslem community of Delhi take in the improvement of the educational facilities for Moslem girls, and in particular I have learnt with much satisfaction that you propose to start a Moslem Girls' High School in Delhi during the next academical year. I ought to make it clear, with reference to one point which you have mentioned in this connection, that there is no foundation for the suggestion that the Government of India have undertaken that the Indraprastha Girls' College shall be recognised as the University College for women in Delhi. So far from this being the case, they have indeed clearly expressed a preference for the development of higher education among women through the University. I can give you my assurance that in any development that may take place in connection with the provision of University education for girls, the interests of all communities will be borne in mind.

You have asked for special consideration for Moslem claims to representation on the Court and other bodies of the Delhi University.

Such representation is of course secured in the University of Delhi as in other Universities, not on communal principles, but through the constituent units of the University; and it naturally reflects the composition of the constituency. In the case, however, of the Court, which is the Governing Body of the University, any undue disparity can within certain limits be redressed by the exercise of the Chancellor's powers of nomination; and as you are aware, that power has in the past always been generously exercised by my predecessors, who have shown themselves fully alive to the claims of the Moslem community.

I have listened with much sympathy to the requests you submitted to me in regard to Moslem places of worship in Delhi. As I understand it, two places of worship have at various times been under consideration. As regards the mosque at the corner of Parliament Street and Talkatora Road, it was decided that all reasonable requirements would be met if it were allowed to be extended so as to hold about 100 worshippers, and the Chief Commissioner informed the gentlemen then responsible for the request for an extension that Government would agree to such an extension if plans were submitted for approval, and if a competent Muslim organization would take steps to appoint some individual to look after the mosque and its surroundings. The suggestion was also made, I believe, that the open lands surrounding the mosque should be maintained as a garden, and a low wall built to mark off the mosque from the rest of the plot. But no further action has, I understand, been taken by the Moslem community on the intimation conveyed by the Chief Commissioner. Equally, while Government have expressed their readiness to consider the allotment of a suitable area to serve as the site for a new mosque, subject to the guarantee that the requisite funds for construction would be forthcoming, and while their readiness to allot such a site has been well known for some time past, it is I think, for you yourselves to put forward proposals for taking advantage of this offer, which is one which cannot be characterized as ungenerous.

I am well aware of the keen interest taken by the Moslem Community in the representation of Moslems in the public services. It is only fair to say that I cannot accept the statements contained in your address as in all respects accurate, more particularly in so far as they suggest that there has been a lack of consideration for your community in respect of recruitment to the subordinate and clerical services of the Delhi Administration. In the case of the Railways I observe that you make no complaint that new recruitment is not in accordance with the accepted communal percentage, but that you urge that your community is placed at a disadvantage in matters of promotion and retrenchment owing to the paucity of its representation in the supervising staff. I fear, however anxious I am to give all legitimate weight to your representations, that there are insuperable objections to applying communal proportions to the staff in a particular division or to promotions in service which are made on seniority and merit; and that in filling such vacancies for promotion as may exist, the exigencies of the public service and the necessity for obtaining men who possess the requisite qualifications must be the first

consideration. But subject to that, you may rest assured that everything possible will be done to give the fullest reasonable weight to communal considerations.

As regards your suggestion for the centralisation and better control of Wakf administration, I would invite your attention to the reply given on this point by Lord Willingdon to the address presented to him by the Moslems of Delhi on the 25th November 1931. The constitutional position is not changed and under the new Government of India Act Wakfs will be a provincial subject. Local Governments have however been alive to the necessity of improving matters as far as possible, and in some Provinces local Acts have been passed to that end amending the Mussalman Wakf Act, 1923, in its application to those Provinces.

In thanking you again for your address of welcome, I would like to repeat my assurance of my personal interest in the affairs of Delhi as a whole, and in the affairs too of the important Moslem community of that City and Province. You are as well aware as I am of the difficulty of satisfying all the claims made upon Government at various times. But you may be certain that I will always be ready to listen with sympathy and interest to any requests which may be put forward and to which I can properly accede.

I would like in conclusion to say again how much I appreciate the kind references which you have made to Lady Linlithgow and to myself. Her Excellency is, as you know, especially interested in Hospitals, in Maternity and Child Welfare, and in everything that has to do with the position of women, and you may rest assured of her continued support and interest in all such questions as affecting Delhi, as well as in any action which has as its object the improvement of conditions in the City and Province. The assurance which you give me of your loyal co-operation and sincere devotion is one which I accept with real pleasure, and I sincerely trust that my term of office may be marked by improvements and developments in many respects in your city of wide and ancient renown."

15. INDIA'S PROUD IRRIGATION SYSTEM

"*We are all of us proud to think that India should possess an irrigation system which is the most important in the world today,*" *said Lord Linlithgow in the course of his speech at the opening of the Annual Meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation on Saturday, October* 31, 1936 :— **Oct. 31, 1936**

"Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to be able to open the proceedings of the 7th annual meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation, and I thank you for having invited me to do so. India is predominantly an agricultural country, and agriculture, her chief industry, is dependent to an essential degree on irrigation. We are all of us proud to think that India should possess an irrigation system which is the most important in the world today, and I would like to take this opportunity to pay my tribute to the long line of distinguished

irrigation engineers to whose labours that system is due, and who can claim to have contributed in the most material degree to laying the foundations of India's prosperity. You, Gentlemen, the successors today of those great men who have rendered such signal service in the past, carry on their work, and I am well aware of the degree to which it is your good fortune to be able to add to the material prosperity of this country, to remedy the defects which knowledge and experience have brought to light, and to assist in spreading still further the benefits of irrigation to the Indian agriculturist and to India as a whole. The debt of India to you and to your predecessors is a heavy one. The general appreciation of the importance of that debt cannot but be at once a source of legitimate satisfaction to you, and an incentive second to none to the continued and active pursuit of your arduous labours.

The sums which have been spent by Government on irrigation in this country are vast. The total amount so far expended on irrigation works approximates to 150 crores of rupees. But vast as may be that sum, it would be foolish to allow the mere magnitude of the figure of expenditure to absorb attention. For the area served by the works on which that sum has been spent over a period of 80 years raises crops annually to the value of 100 crores of rupees, and taking into account the value of those crops, every 18 months sees the repayment of the capital expenditure. I am glad to have the opportunity to pay this public tribute to the fact that the construction and maintenance of this vast irrigation system has been made possible by the services of the highly trained and skilled army of engineers whom you represent here today.

Of the problems of vital importance to India today, not the least important is that of the food for her rapidly increasing population. The present rate of increase of that population is a fact of profound significance, and it is in my view one of the issues which is likely to prove to be of the greatest importance to the future governments of this country. In a recent report the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India states that the population of India is expected to increase to 400 millions in 1941, and that it is increasing at the rate of about four millions per year. His report states further that only about three-fourths of an acre per head of population in British India is under cultivation for food purposes. These facts are staggering: and you will agree with me that they must give matter for serious thought to all thinking men and women in India. The investigations which are being carried on by the Departments concerned with Agricultural Research will doubtless result in increased productivity of the land. But if our food resources are to keep pace with the increase in population, means must be found of bringing large tracts of country, still unproductive, under fruitful cultivation, and there is no way in which this can so effectively be done as by extending facilities for irrigation.

A recent development in this country, and one of great importance, is that of hydro-electric generating schemes on irrigation canals by the utilisation of power available at canal falls. The advantages of irrigation from tube-wells as compared with the ordinary method

of irrigation from canals are, as I see it, that an area can be developed in accordance with demand ; that there is not the large initial outlay which may be lying unproductive awaiting development of the country ; that the capital outlay per cusec of water used for irrigation is less than under weir control system ; and that water is available as and when required, the cultivator paying for it on a volumetric basis. I need not emphasize the importance of a development which results in the economic use of water and which is of benefit to Government and the cultivator alike. Extraction of water from the subsoil for irrigation is not of course a new departure. The new departure consists in the fact that it is being undertaken by means of electrically operated tube-wells on a large scale. The largest scheme of this nature, and one in which I have taken a close personal interest, is the Ganges Canal hydro-electric scheme in the United Provinces. That scheme will command an area of 13,000 square miles of agricultural country and supply electric power at cheap rates primarily for irrigation and agricultural purposes. While a portion of the power generated will be allotted to industries and railways, a major share will be assigned to tube-well irrigation, and will provide water for those areas which are not within command of gravity canals. Power will in addition be available for agricultural purposes, and will be at the disposal of the farmer in the crushing of sugar cane, the grinding of wheat, the ginning of cotton, the hulling of rice and similar operations.

The Ganges Canal hydro-electric scheme is the most important scheme of tube-well irrigation which has hitherto been undertaken. But I cannot but ask myself whether there may not be other areas in India which would lend themselves to development in this manner, and I would suggest that the possibilities of the situation merit closer investigation. I would suggest too that it might be well worth while in future irrigation schemes to consider the possibility of hydro-electric development from the power available at the falls, particularly in those areas which are at some distance from the hills where power is obtainable from natural falls, and, in deciding the grouping of falls on canals and the design of the falls themselves, to aim at providing conditions which will admit of an easy development on these lines at a later stage should circumstances justify such development.

I observe from the reports of the provincial research officers that considerable attention has been paid to the question of subsoil water surveys in irrigated areas. This is a matter which is in my view of great importance, not only from the point of view both of preventing water-logging and deterioration of the soil by the accumulation of salts, and of future developments of the kind to which I have just referred. I feel no doubt too as to the desirability of a further advance in our knowledge of the action of subsoil water under certain conditions. It would not indeed perhaps be too much to say that it is almost as important, if not as important, to make a survey of subsoil water and to keep that survey up-to-date, as it is to make a survey of the surface soil. It is clearly necessary from the point of view of future development of irrigation under systems of tube-wells to know

not only the quantity of water which can be extracted from the ground and the source of the under-ground supply, but also the chemical analysis of the water itself.

It is a matter of real satisfaction to me that a recommendation made by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, over whose deliberations I had the honour to preside, should have played so considerable a part in shaping your organization. The recommendation which I have in mind was the recommendation that the Government of India should constitute a Central Bureau of Irrigation, which would establish and maintain a comprehensive library of Irrigation publications, both Indian and Foreign, for the use of Irrigation Engineers, and which would act as a clearing house for information needed by provincial officers. I am glad to think that the Government of India, in the light of their consultation with the Provincial Governments, should have decided to improve on our recommendation and to link the Bureau with the Central Board of Irrigation, reorganizing the latter from a mere panel of provincial Chief Engineers from which technical sub-committees could be constituted for examining irrigation projects as necessity arose, to an active body, meeting at regular intervals, with a permanent office which also serves as a Bureau of Irrigation Information.

The Board and the Bureau have done work of the utmost value in the brief six years since their establishment in November 1930. The Board has provided several sub-committees to investigate important technical problems, not the least important of which has been the Committee on the distribution of the Waters of the Indus and its Tributaries, on the successful conclusion of whose labours Sir Frank Noyce congratulated the Chairman and Members of the Committee at your last Annual Meeting. The recommendations of that Committee are still under consideration, in consultation with the Local Governments and the States concerned, but I am glad to be able to say that there is every hope that a solution of this very complex and thorny question will be found along the lines proposed by the Committee.

A further service of the utmost value which the Board and Bureau provides, and which will be of still greater importance under the new constitution, is to afford facility for that regular and systematic interchange of views between Province and Province which places the experience of any one at the disposal of all.

During the past year two important sub-committees have met and deliberated, one on the question of Water-logging in Sind and the other on the Haveli (Punjab) Project. Both these are projects which are of far-reaching concern to the Provinces concerned, and I am sure that the reports submitted by the sub-committees will be of the greatest assistance to my Government in dealing with these most important projects.

The Bureau has built up a valuable library of publications at the moment numbering more than 4,000. The importance of an authoritative reference library of this character and on this scale,

needs no emphasis from me. The Board has, too, established contact with all the important irrigating countries of the world, and it includes in the range of its association engineering institutions, societies, colleges, and eminent engineers in very many different countries. I feel confident that as time passes this institution will prove itself in an increasingly marked degree a clearing house of the first importance for information on irrigation matters not only in India but in all countries where irrigation is of any importance.

Nor can I fail to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the value of the work done by your Research Committee in collaboration with the Provincial Research Officers.

I have touched briefly on the achievements of your service. I have in no way endeavoured to cover the whole of the field of your operations. But what I have said is I think sufficient to show that the organization you have built up must continue to exist, subject possibly to modifications in certain respects, and to play a part of great importance in the further development of irrigation under the new constitution. Under that constitution, Irrigation will be a provincial subject, and the sanction of the Secretary of State will no longer be necessary as at present to the projects of Provincial Governments which, under the existing audit rules, have to be submitted to the Government of India for his approval. But with the harnessing of the waters of the great river systems of this country to agriculture, the interests of neighbouring Provinces and States must necessarily become involved in an increasing degree, and I feel little doubt that the closest contact with the Central Government will, in the circumstances, continue to be necessary. It was with these considerations in view that the elaborate provision embodied in sections 130 to 134 of the Government of India Act was devised by Parliament with a view to the harmonious and equitable settlement of such disputes as might arise out of interference with water-supplies; and I am satisfied that under the new dispensation the Governor-General will continue to require the expert advice and assistance which an organization such as yours can alone afford him.

I observe that the report prepared by your Secretary refers to the inadequate publicity which India's achievements in this sphere have received in the past. Inadequate as that publicity may have been, and it is my strong view that nothing should be left undone to remedy any past shortcomings in this respect, I can assure you, Gentlemen, that there is in all informed circles and in all countries in which irrigation is a matter of active importance a deep and full realisation of the importance of what has been achieved in this country. But it goes without saying that it is not enough that the magnitude of those achievements and their vital importance to the welfare of India as a whole and of the agricultural population in particular, should be appreciated outside India. It is even more important that the people of this country should realise more adequately than they may perhaps so far have done how great is the debt of India to her irrigation engineers, how vitally essential irrigation and agriculture

are to the material advancement of India, and in how marked a degree both, working hand in hand, can ensure her prosperity in the years to come.

I notice that one of the questions to be discussed at your meeting is that of the establishment of a Central Research Station for Irrigation. The Royal Commission on Agriculture concluded in the light of their investigations that such an institution was not desirable and that provincial research was of greater importance. But since the date of our Report much has happened and much further experience has been gained. I understand that during the past ten years, as the result largely of the use now made of models in solving irrigation and river control problems, there is now a strong demand for research of an all-India nature. I attach great importance to this work which, if successful, should make a most material contribution towards the solution of a set of problems important in many areas, and in some of pressing urgency and significance. The finance of such an institution is a matter which calls for the consideration of all likely to derive benefit from its operations. But I am not perhaps transgressing any proper boundaries if I say that its importance to the future Provincial Governments is so great that it is my earnest trust that they, since the matter is primarily one of concern to individual Provinces in their varying circumstances, will be prepared to share in supporting a central research station of the nature proposed. They can rely on the fullest and most whole-hearted co-operation of the Government of India in the work of such a station, and I can assure you of my own close personal interest in its operations.

Your agenda is a heavy one, and I do not wish to detain you longer. I thank you again for having invited me to address you today, and I trust sincerely that the deliberations upon which you are about to embark may be fruitful of benefit to you, to the great cause of the organization and development of irrigation in India, and so to the agriculturist and to the Province to which he belongs. Let us never forget that the great and imposing works for which your predecessors and you are responsible, the mighty barrage, the majestic canal full charged with its lifegiving content, that these are all without meaning or purpose unless and until they contribute to deliver to the field of the cultivator that humble rill of water upon which his hopes and his livelihood depend."

16. ADVICE TO YOUNG RULER

Nov. 2, 1936

In investing " the young Ruler of a great and famous State " with full powers of administration, Lord Linlithgow holds up before the Maharaja the " illustrious " example of the late Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia. Speech at the investiture at Gwalior on November 2, 1936 :—

" Your Highness,—It is a very great pleasure to me to have this opportunity of visiting Gwalior so early in my term of office, and the pleasure is all the greater in that the occasion of my visit is one of such vital importance to Your Highness' State. No function which falls to the lot of a Viceroy can be more congenial than the ceremony

for which this Durbar is being held—the investiture with full powers of administration of the young Ruler of a great and famous State.

Eleven years have passed since Your Highness succeeded your father on the Gaddi. During that period the administration has been carried on by a Council of Regency, composed for the most part of officers who were the trusted Counsellors during his life-time of the late Maharaja. In the annals of the Indian States, it will be difficult to find a name more illustrious than that of Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia. With single-minded purpose he devoted his whole energies to the development of his State and the welfare of his subjects, and the marks of his enlightened and progressive rule are everywhere traceable in the Gwalior of today. During your minority, the State has been administered by the Council in accordance with the system which was introduced by your father and in close conformity to the principles which he laid down. And the record of their stewardship and the results which the Council in the discharge of their trust have been able to achieve are such as they can now, on the determination of their functions, with confidence submit to Your Highness. Throughout the period of their office the Council while paying to past tradition the respect which it deserves, have been fully alive to the importance of ensuring that the administration of the State should keep pace with modern requirements, and that it should be maintained at the level appropriate to the historic traditions of Gwalior. And the progress which Gwalior has made under their guidance has in many directions been of substantial importance. I need mention only a few of these. In the first place, extensive irrigation projects have been completed, or brought near to completion. Some years must yet elapse before the full benefit of those projects can be felt, but they are an asset of great potential value. The excellent road system of the State has been well maintained and largely extended; 431 miles of new metalled roads have been added by the Council of Regency at a cost of 35 lakhs of rupees; and communications between the various parts of the State have been greatly facilitated by the construction and improvement of bridges. The most recent of those bridges is the much-needed bridge over the Parbati river on the Agra-Bombay road, which was opened to traffic a few months ago. Large sums have been spent on water-works and sanitation schemes. An abundant supply of good drinking-water has been provided for Lashkar, Gwalior and Morar; the drainage system of these towns has been much improved; and a variety of schemes, the object of which is to increase the amenities and safeguard the health of other important towns, have been completed or initiated. In the field of education many new primary schools have been opened in all parts of the State and much has been done to meet the ever-growing demand for higher education. In the medical department the annual expenditure on the department is now more than double what it was when the minority administration started. New hospitals and dispensaries providing better facilities have been opened—notably the very well-equipped and up-to-date hospital in Ujjain; and this year a substantial sum over and above the ordinary budget grant has been allocated for new medical buildings. The Gwalior

troops, which in the Great War rendered services of great value to the Empire, have been maintained at the high standard of efficiency to which they were brought by Your Highness' father, who took so keen an interest in the military forces of the State. Improvements have been effected in the organization of the Police, on whom fall duties of the highest importance in the maintenance of law and order and the suppression of crime. The sound financial position which the late Maharaja built up has been consolidated and strengthened. In Gwalior, as elsewhere, recent economic conditions have inevitably had a prejudicial effect on the revenues of the State; but the decline has not been such as to react to any serious extent on the general efficiency of the administration. Large investments are held by the State and the interest on these is allocated to the various Funds established by Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia for the purpose of developing the useful activities of various departments. In the management of these investments a sound policy is being followed and they now add to the financial resources of the State a valuable reserve of strength.

The period of Your Highness' minority has coincided with a period of world depression. All the more credit is due to the Council of Regency, which has been working under these adverse conditions, for the progress which the State has made. Until 1931, the deliberations of the Council were conducted under the wise guidance of the late Maharani Chinku Raja, whose untimely death is so deeply deplored by all. Since then Your Highness' mother has presided over the Council. Her Highness, whose single-minded devotion to your welfare, and whose constant concern for all that affects Your Highness are so well known, has taken the keenest interest in the Council's work and in the work of all branches of the administration, and has zealously devoted herself to the responsible duties which fall upon the President.

The time has now come when the burden of responsibility for the rule and guidance of this great and famous State passes to Your Highness from those on whom it has rested during your minority. The weight of that burden is a heavy one. But I am confident that it is one which by disposition, by training, and by tradition, Your Highness is well qualified to bear. You assume control of a progressive State, well endowed with resources which have been conserved and developed with marked skill during the period of your minority. You have had the advantage of highly qualified tutors. Your education and training have been so designed as to give you the maximum of assistance in facing the task that lies before you. Your close association in the latter stages of your training with the administration of the State has familiarised you with the machinery of its government and with the conduct of public business, while your visits to important States and Provinces of India have given you opportunities of observing the administrative methods of government elsewhere. The experience you have thus gained cannot but be of great value to Your Highness in dealing with the problems which lie before you as Ruler of Gwalior.

Your Highness is called upon to face those problems and to assume the heavy responsibilities of a Ruler at a time when India stands at

the dawn of a new era—a dawn bright with promise for the future if, as is my earnest trust, British India and the Indian States advance side by side along the path of national progress. I am confident that at no distant date the Federation of India will come into being, and a momentous problem which it will fall to you to resolve at the very outset of your career is the question of the attitude of Gwalior towards that Federation. I am well aware of the fundamental importance of that problem and the careful study which Your Highness will wish to give to the issues involved before you reach your decision on it. But I would assure you that any assistance which I or my officers can give to you in regard to it, will at all times be at your disposal, should you desire to make use of it.

I am certain that courage, imagination, and a close interest in the welfare and development of your State and of its people will not be lacking in the son of Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia, and it is these qualities which at the present time more than ever before are called for in the Ruler of a State. If I were to offer Your Highness words of advice which might perhaps appropriately come on an occasion such as the present from an older man to a younger one, I could not do better than to point to the example set by your father during the period of his rule, and counsel you to follow it. While relying—as every Ruler must—on his own judgment, he was one who was always ready to accept advice if he thought it sound ; who had the wisdom to discriminate between good advice and bad ; and whose first concern was at all times the well-being of his subjects. Like the great King whose name you bear, he regarded himself as the servant of his people. If this, Your Highness, is also—as I am sure it will be—the guiding principle of your rule, the three and a half million subjects, whose welfare is now in your hands, will—from the highest to the lowest—have good cause to remember today as one of happy augury for Gwalior ; and you will have their loyalty and affection to support and encourage you in your endeavours for the common weal.

On this memorable occasion, which is of such deep significance to you and to your people, I offer you my congratulations and I wish you and your State the fullest success and prosperity."

17. MOVE AMONG THE PEOPLE

Give "your subjects in all parts of the 26,000 *square miles over which you rule an early opportunity to see you" suggests Lord Linlithgow to the Maharaja of Gwalior at the latter's Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit on November* 2, 1936. **Nov. 2, 1936**

Extracts from the speech :—

"Your Highness has referred in your speech to the ideals which you have set before yourself, and in particular you have referred to your desire to follow in the footsteps of your distinguished father and to aim at the social and economic advancement of your subjects, and the dignity and well-being of your motherland. Your Highness could not have set before yourself a higher or a nobler task. You

enter on your new duties with the energy and fresh outlook of youth. You are the heir of a long and famous tradition, and I am confident that you will spare no effort to achieve the ideal which you have set before yourself.

I have no doubt that now that you have assumed the responsibility of the Government of this great State, you will desire to give your subjects in all parts of the 26,000 square miles over which you rule an early opportunity to see you. I can well conceive how lively a source of satisfaction to them your presence in their midst would be. Your father was, I know, very conscious of the importance of touring as bringing him into close personal touch with his subjects. He realised that it was this personal contact which more than anything else strengthened the bonds of loyalty and affection between a Prince and his people. And he was conscious too that in the course of the tour it was possible for a Ruler to see with his own eyes what the conditions in districts actually were, and to judge to what extent or in what manner schemes of development might be launched or methods of administration readjusted to meet the changed conditions of the day. That close personal contact by a Ruler, that personal vigilance over the administration of his State is, if possible still more important at the present time than in the past. In all countries and States the process of expansion and readjustment to meet new needs and changing circumstances must be a continuing one. In a time such as the present, when on every side rapid changes, with far-reaching effects are taking place, the close and constant personal interest of the Ruler is necessary if his State is to keep abreast of the exigencies of the times. I know from my own conversations with Your Highness how close your interest is in these vital problems, and great as may be the burden of the administration which you now take over, I am confident that you will discharge it with the distinction, the sympathy, and the breadth of outlook to be expected in the inheritor of the traditions of your great House. In all that concerns Your Highness and your State you may be certain that I shall at all times take the deepest interest, and you can rely on me, and on the officers of my Government, to place at your disposal in the future as in the past any assistance for which you may wish to ask them.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health of His Highness the Maharaja George Jivaji Rao Scindia and in wishing all happiness and all prosperity to him and to his State."

18. THE IMPERIAL CITY

Nov. 20, 1936

Extracts from Reply to an Address of Welcome presented by the Delhi Municipal Committee on November 20, 1936 :—

" I am well aware of the historic and cultural traditions of Delhi, which are famous throughout the world. The historic importance of your city, its widespread renown, and the fact that it is now the Imperial Capital, contribute to make it still more desirable than it would in any event have been to do everything practicable to improve

its amenities and to ensure that its administration is conducted on the right lines.

I have listened with great interest to what you tell me of the achievements of your Municipality, and I much appreciate the work which you have been able to do. In particular I congratulate you on the steps you have taken to introduce free compulsory primary education. That is a great step forward, and while the expenditure involved is substantial, it is expenditure which can be relied upon to produce a return of ever-increasing value. I welcome too your decision to open a High School for Girls, and I cannot too heartily commend your interest in the education of backward and oppressed classes. I note in this connection with great satisfaction the arrangements you have made to supply free milk and food to selected children. My experience of similar experiments elsewhere leaves me convinced that this is a line of development of real importance; and I would like to urge you, if you do not already do so, to keep a careful comparative statistical record of the results. It is only by doing so that the full value to under-nourished children of steps such as you have taken, and the results, almost startling in their magnitude, which can be expected from action on these lines, can be fully appreciated.

I am glad also to note the steps you have taken to provide adequate medical relief, a matter of special importance to a growing city such as the present. Her Excellency and I take in particular the closest interest in the prevention and cure of tuberculosis, and your enterprise in establishing a modern and well-equipped tuberculosis hospital deserves the highest praise. I shall watch with interest the progress of the steps which you have under contemplation for the building of maternity and isolation hospitals. I am glad to think that the hospital building as constructed provides for expansion in due course even if an increase as great as that which you regard as desirable in the number of beds in the Irwin Hospital must, for financial reasons, be a matter of time . . . .

Let me touch briefly on one or two aspects of municipal improvement in which I have taken a special interest. In the first place, you have referred in your address to the position in regard to sanitation. I propose to deal later in my remarks with the connected question of slum clearance. As regards the removal of the refuse dumping grounds, the Government of India have already agreed to meet the capital cost involved, and the question of the incidence of the recurring cost has been settled. The question of drainage is one of paramount importance; and as you are, I think aware, the Government of India, who fully appreciate that fact, have accepted the necessity for improving the drainage system of Old Delhi. But the problem of Old Delhi sewage, and the nature of the improvements to be made in it, can best and most efficiently be dealt with as part of a general scheme of sewage disposal covering the whole of the Delhi urban area. Such a scheme has now been worked out in great detail, and has been accepted by Government. I can assure you that no time is being lost in dealing with it, and I trust that the interval until the replacement of the present drainage system of Old Delhi can take place will be a short one.

I observe that in your address you make no reference to the problem of Malaria, a problem which I regard as of such importance that I have concerned myself personally and in detail with the organization of anti-malarial measures. The anti-malarial measures in respect of the current year are already, as you know, in progress. The results so far could not have been more encouraging; and a scheme for permanent works of improvement with the object of ridding Delhi of this scourge, which has been worked out on a provisional basis, will in the immediate future come up for consideration by the Government of India. I feel sure that you agree with me as to the imperative necessity, in the interests of the health of the city, of ridding the Imperial Capital and its surroundings of the scourge of malaria, and I feel confident that I can look for your co-operation in the steps which my Government are taking to ensure that result."

19. RAILWAY PROBLEMS

Speech in opening the meeting of the Indian Railway Conference Association on November 21, 1936 :—

"Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am grateful to the Indian Railway Conference Association for giving me this opportunity of meeting and addressing the officers in charge of our Indian Railways. I am well aware that this gathering is the most important meeting convened by the Conference during the year, and I accepted your invitation to address it with all the more satisfaction because we are now at a stage in India's political history when railways are called on to play a part of vital importance in contributing to the success of the new constitution. . . .

Our objective, Gentlemen, so far as railways are concerned, must be to restore so far as possible and at as early a date as may be practicable, the position to which the railways had attained in their period prior to the depression. The importance to the immediate political development of India of a prosperous and self-supporting railway system is, as you well know, greater than it has ever been; and I feel sure that no words of mine are needed to urge you to do your utmost to facilitate and expedite the recovery to which I have referred. I am very conscious of the unceasing efforts you have all made during the last few years to effect all practicable economies consistent with efficient working on the lines under your control. The reduction of working expenses between 1929-30, the last year before the depression, and 1931-32, on Indian Railways was more than six crores, in other words more than 10 per cent. That, Gentlemen, I regard as a very remarkable achievement. The curtailment of expenditure is apt to be uninspiring; it is always depressing; and it makes heavy demands on courage, character and ability. It is from no want of appreciation of all you have done in the past that I ask you not to relax your efforts in the pursuit of economy. Those efforts are as essential as ever if the railways are to be restored to the position they held seven years ago, and I feel confident that I can rely on you

to continue to do all in your power to expedite the realisation of the state of things which we are all so anxious to achieve.

I appreciate the difficulty of your task, and I am glad to think that I am in a position to promise you assistance in your efforts. As you are aware, as the result of the recommendation made first by Sir Otto Niemeyer and strongly supported by the Public Accounts Committee, my Government have recently appointed a Committee of railway experts, presided over by Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Chief General Manager of the London and North-Eastern Railway, who are to examine railway finances and recommend such measures as will expedite their rehabilitation and further the co-ordination of transport. Sir Ralph Wedgwood and his colleagues are with us here today, and it gives me great pleasure to extend to them a most cordial welcome to India, and to wish them every success in the very responsible and difficult task entrusted to them. I wish to emphasize that the object of Sir Ralph Wedgwood and his committee is to give us all the assistance they can ; and I know I can rely on your hearty co-operation in doing everything possible to lighten their work and facilitate the formulation of their recommendations by helping them to collect the information they require. I would like to make one more point in this connection. In the difficult times through which railways at home have had to pass, the railway managed with such distinction by Sir Ralph Wedgwood has, I believe, had to experience a period of depression far worse than anything that has been experienced by us here, and I feel confident that we can count on his understanding sympathy with us in the difficulties we have experienced as well as on his constructive help in surmounting those obstacles that still confront us.

I suggested a few minutes ago that the pursuit of economy was apt to be uninspiring. But it seems to me that the depressing features of retrenchment are largely mitigated if we remind ourselves that the prime purpose of economy should be to prepare the way for new enterprise and for better service to the public. It is often pointed out that the monopoly once enjoyed by railways has disappeared and that railways must therefore bestir themselves to attract traffic by improving their facilities. We have constantly before us remarkable examples of what has been done by railways in recent years in England and other countries to increase the sale of their transport. To give only one example, let me cite the case of the deservedly well-known Silver Jubilee train running on Sir Ralph Wedgwood's line between King's Cross and Newcastle, which provides travel at a speed which is world-famous, coupled with comfort for passengers that is unsurpassed. I do not, of course, suggest that conditions in India have reached a stage at which the running of such a train would be feasible ; but I think we may learn a lesson from it. I gather that this wonderful train has more than justified its existence, and I noticed in the paper a few days ago that it is to be extended to Edinburgh. Is it not an outstanding example of what imagination and enterprise, conceived during a period of bad years, can do to attract the passenger ?

It is the duty of all railway administrations to ascertain what the public want, and to do their utmost to provide it, more especially now that other forms of transport are rising up in competition. Services both for passengers and freight must be speeded up and passenger amenities must be improved, especially those provided for the humblest class of traveller who forms the bulk of India's travelling public. As regards this last point, I have been gratified to learn that active steps are in progress to improve the standard design of our third class carriages. Again, I understand that the possibility of introducing air conditioning for certain trains is now being closely examined. In another direction exhaustive experiments are, I gather, being undertaken to ascertain whether faster and heavier trains cannot be run over our existing track and bridges, and if these experiments prove successful, they should result in great economies in renewal expenditure. I feel sure that the progressive activities which I have mentioned are but a few of those which are now engaging the attention of our railway administrators during this difficult period through which railways are passing in India. I can only urge you to redouble your efforts, and once again to prove that the principal lesson to be learnt of adversity is inspiration to better things.

Let me in conclusion wish you every success in your deliberations at this Conference, the importance of which is so great and the work of which I shall follow with keen personal interest."

20. THE DELHI PINJRAPOLE

Nov. 22, 1936 *Lord Linlithgow presents cows and a female buffalo to the Delhi Pinjrapole on November 22, 1936. Extracts from speech :—*

" Gentlemen,—I am glad to be amongst you today, and to have this opportunity of inspecting an Institution which, according to the reports I receive from my officers, is doing excellent work for the improvement of cattle-breeding in the Delhi area, a matter in which, as you are aware, I am deeply interested. I am glad, too, to have this opportunity of seeing the bull which I presented seven months ago to the Pinjrapole. I trust that this animal may be found to make a useful contribution towards an increase of the milk yield of the local breed. . . .

The first purpose of my visit today is to present to this Pinjrapole six cows and a female buffalo. The cows are from Calcutta ; the buffalo cow is from Bombay in which city buffalo milk supplies an important part of the public demand. These seven animals have all been in urban dairies. Their period of lactation had come to an end and if I, or someone else, had not bought them for return to the countryside and the pastures, they would by this time have been slaughtered. I have taken this action because I am anxious to draw the attention of all persons in India to the excellent opportunities to obtain animals of good appearance and with good milk yields afforded by these sales of dry cows in urban areas. My strong hope is that these cows and this buffalo will all have further calves and give

a good yield of milk. If any of these cows fail to have further calves, that fact will be strong presumptive evidence that they have been subjected to the grossly cruel and inhuman practice called Phuka, which is designed to prolong the lactation period. That practice is a disgrace to all that is best in India, and it must be stopped and rooted out. I hope that local authorities and the public will support me in this determination and do their best by exercising effective restraint upon, and if necessary by punishing those that practise Phuka, to protect our cows from this horrible maltreatment.

Let me tell you what we have done by reducing railway freight rates to encourage purchasers from the mofussil to acquire dry cows from Calcutta and Bombay. For some years past freight by goods over almost all lines in India has been 4 annas or 3½ annas, from broad gauge or narrow gauge stations respectively, per four-wheeled wagon per mile. I may add that for no traffic of approximately corresponding value do railways quote so low a rate per wagon mile as they do for livestock. In July 1936, with a view to encouraging the return of dry cows from urban areas to the mofussil, the Railway Board introduced a special rate of six annas return per four-wheeled wagon booked to Calcutta by goods train from any station on the North-Western Railway, valid for nine months, as an experimental measure. The intention was that if that experimental measure proved successful, it could be extended to other movements of cattle by rail. In October 1936 arrangements were made by the East Indian Railway for the quotation of a special rate of two annas per wagon mile by goods train for traffic in cattle and buffaloes from Calcutta to stations up-country. The possibility is now under consideration of making a similar concessional rate for this traffic on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India, Great Indian Peninsula and the North-Western Railways. It is my sincere hope that the steps which we have taken with the object of facilitating the return from urban areas of dry cattle will have their effect. I would make an earnest appeal to you and to all who have the interest of the country-side at heart to take the fullest advantage possible of the concessions which Government has made. . . ."

21. UNITED PROVINCES EXHIBITION

Extracts from reply to an Address presented by the Executive Committee of the United Provinces Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition on December 15, 1936 :— **Dec. 15, 1936**

" I understand from your remarks that the Exhibition is not concerned with large-scale industries alone, important as those industries are. I am particularly glad to hear that an attempt has been made in it to give prominence to the smaller and cottage industries. I feel no doubt on the information available to me that it is of real importance so far as possible, consistently with the means and the personnel available, to develop cottage industries, for, viewing those industries as a whole in any one Province, the amount of employment

which they can give, at a time when the problem of unemployment is of acute importance, is substantial and widespread. But it is essential to remember that if the market for the product of the cottage industries and, for instance, of the artistic handicrafts for which your Provinces have for so many centuries been noted, is to be developed to the full, and to be consolidated, the necessity for effecting the improvements demanded by modern conditions and by new needs, without sacrificing the substance of the great tradition inherited from the past, must be kept prominently in view.

Of the problems confronting the small industrialist, perhaps the two most difficult are the problem of marketing and the problem of finance. I understand that steps are being taken to help to provide him with facilities in respect of both. The small industrialist cannot either individually or in association afford to bear substantial expenditure on advertisement ; and an Exhibition such as the present serves a really useful purpose in bringing the resources and the potentialities of small industries to the notice of dealers and consumers. By the demonstration which it affords of improved processes suitable for selected industries, and by the various types of up-to-date plant, machinery, and appliances displayed at it, it helps also to furnish to actual or intending industrialists ocular demonstration of the scope for improvements designed to yield a better outturn.

In this connection I would refer in particular to the hydro-electric grid, the development of which has placed within the reach of small industrialists cheap electrical energy of incalculable value. But it is not only the industrialist who has benefited by the grid system, the successful expansion of which I regard as one of the most important achievements in this field of recent times. It has equally been of great assistance to the agriculturist, and the construction of electric tube-wells has made irrigation possible in areas in which at an earlier stage it was impracticable. I can well conceive that the result of the greater availability of water, the expansion of the sugar industry, and the consequent increase in the area under cane may necessitate a revision and an adaptation in material respects of the old traditional system of agriculture. The agriculturist in the changed conditions of today must acquaint himself, if he is to get the best results from the resources at his disposal, with the new technique for using the water made available to him to the best purpose with the necessity of employing manure for soil reinforcement, more particularly when the land is carrying an exhausting crop, and with the need, which equally has sometimes to accompany the use of improved seed, for a new system of rotation. I trust that the demonstrations of these matters which have been arranged at this Exhibition will show the cultivator what he can do to derive the fullest benefit from the improvements which modern scientific research and exhaustive experiment have placed at his disposal today.

I am glad to think that the important problem of Animal Husbandry has not been neglected, and that the cultivator who visits the Exhibition will have an opportunity of acquainting himself with a variety of improvements which have been effected in the methods

of preventing or curing diseases among animals, and with the latest ideas about their care, nutrition and maintenance.

Your Exhibition, if I may say so in conclusion, is in itself a valuable illustration of the essential necessity for taking a comprehensive view of the problems of the cultivator and of the means best calculated to help him to grapple with them. Those of us whose ambition it is to do what we can for the welfare of rural areas, must always bear in mind that our object must be not so much to introduce this or that improvement as to better the condition of the peasant, or rather to enable him, by familiarizing him with recent developments, himself to better his circumstances and his conditions of livelihood. Your Exhibition and the emphasis which it lays on the various aspects of rural development, the necessity for sanitation and medical facilities, for improved communications, for better housing, for co-operation, and the like, serves a valuable purpose and one of great importance. . . . ."

22. THE POWER OF THE PRESS

Extracts from speech on the occasion of the laying of the Foundation Stone of the new "Pioneer" Building at Lucknow on December 16, 1936 :— **Dec. 16, 1936**

"I do not propose to say anything about the policy of your paper or your conception of the functions of the Press. While I appreciate the distinction you have drawn between editorial comment and the impartial representation of the facts on which it is based, I would today emphasise only the paramount importance of obtaining and publishing correct and up-to-date news.

In my broadcast speech on my arrival at Bombay, to which you have been good enough to refer, I explained my attitude and that of my officers towards this question and declared my intention of making official information available to the Press without favouritism or discrimination. I repeat what I said on that occasion: 'Like the rest of us, newspaper men cannot be expected to make bricks without straw. If they are to discharge their responsible duties towards the public, and to comment effectively upon current affairs, they require, whatever their editorial policy, to be informed as far as practicable upon the facts at issue. As one well accustomed to their requirements in this regard, I intend to do my utmost to give them such assistance as properly I may'.

On that occasion I also referred to the power of the Press of all democratic countries of making a material contribution towards the successful working of public institutions and the development of an informed and responsible body of opinion. The proprietors and editors of newspapers have a grave responsibility towards the State and towards the public. This obligation I feel sure that you, the proprietors of a paper with such traditions as the 'Pioneer', will discharge to the full. You have mentioned some of the distinguished writers and journalists who have helped in the past to make your paper

famous. Your present editor, who had a long and distinguished journalistic career in South Africa before coming to India, is well equipped to succeed them. I am confident that in the future under the wise directorship of proprietors and an editor who have a full sense of their responsibility towards the State and towards their readers, your paper will faithfully reproduce the best traditions of the profession of journalism.

In laying the foundation stone of your new building I wish the 'Pioneer' godspeed and good fortune."

23. EX-ROYAL FAMILY OF OUDH

Dec. 17, 1936 *Extract from reply to an Address of Welcome from Members of the Oudh Ex-Royal Family Association at Lucknow on December* 17, 1936 :—

"It is gratifying to find that the members of the family realise that the conditions of society cannot remain stationary, and that they so fully appreciate the necessity of training and equipping their children to make their own way in the world. Government in the past have been able to do much to help you in the matter of education, with satisfactory results as regards the securing of posts in various branches of Government service ; and those of your sons who apply for posts will naturally receive consideration along with others provided they reach the required standard. But I am afraid that it would be contrary to the accepted principles of Government service for Government to reserve each year posts for a selected number of graduates and undergraduates belonging to your family. I would remind you, in considering the questions of education and employment, that there are openings in other walks of life besides Government service, such as agriculture, commerce, law, medicine and literature, and I would earnestly advise you not to look exclusively to the rapidly diminishing number of Government posts to which recruitment is made by nomination, but to seek the means of honourable livelihood in other fields.

You have brought to my notice, though you have courteously refrained from asking for an answer, the request which you have made for an increase of the funds available for scholarships for members of your family. I fully appreciate the importance, in view of the keen competition of the modern world, of enabling your sons to be adequately educated in English to obtain the qualifications which are a necessary condition for entry into some of the provincial services. But I fear that I can hold out little hope, financial conditions being what they are, of a favourable answer to your request, glad as I should have been to accede to it had this been possible. I sincerely hope however that, whether the request is granted or not, more of your children will be able to obtain the necessary equipment for the struggle of life. Members of the Oudh ex-Royal Family Association, I wish you well. With your traditions, the courage with which you have faced your misfortunes and the determination by which you are now inspired to go into the arena, I believe you may face the future with confidence and hope."

24. "BROTHER LANDLORDS"

Extract from reply to an Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh at Lucknow on December 17, 1936 :— **Dec. 17, 1936**

"You have hailed me as a brother landlord : this link between us helps me to sympathise with the special difficulties which face the landlord class : this fellow feeling encourages me to speak to you frankly and without reserve. Primarily you Taluqdars are sons of the soil. I need not urge you to pay that true filial homage to the land which the country and the countryman deserve ; and to do your utmost to improve the position of your tenantry, and to encourage and develop enlightened methods of agriculture in all its phases. From what I have observed myself during the short period of my visit I feel no doubt that you are fully alive to the vital significance of agricultural improvement, and I have observed with satisfaction the share which you are taking in the important movement of rural development. As you know, my personal interest alike in agricultural improvement and in village uplift is deep and sincere : in them there lies the clue to the solution of many of India's problems, and the surest road to the prosperity of India as a whole. But those of us who own land can achieve little without the labour and the good-will of our tenants. The tenant, like the landlord, has his rights and his privileges—a fact that has been recognised prominently in this Province by the tenancy legislation of recent years and by the latest enactments of your Legislative Council dealing with the problem of agricultural indebtedness. The policy to which those enactments bear witness is a wise one. There is no lesson of which history affords more examples than that a discontented peasantry will listen only too readily to rash promises and wild schemes for the betterment of their economic condition ; and, remembering as we must that a large proportion of the people of India depend upon agriculture for their livelihood, the paramount importance, as you, I know, well realise, of taking all reasonable measures to promote the welfare of your tenants stands evident. I am conscious that the difficulties of the last few years have placed a particularly heavy financial burden upon the landed classes of this Province, and I am well aware of the cheerfulness and the fortitude with which you have borne that burden. You have mentioned your tradition of conservatism, but the outlook of today upon the relation between landlord and tenant has advanced far beyond the conceptions of a generation ago, and the conservatism of today was the advanced doctrine of yesterday.

I have been very pleased during my visit here to inspect the Colvin Taluqdars' School, the Lucknow University and the Medical College. These institutions which, in a large measure, owe their existence to your generosity and foresight in the past, are indeed an eloquent proof of what the Taluqdars have done for education and for society at large, and I congratulate you on the enlightened example you have shown.

Under the new Constitution the privileges of your class have been safeguarded and your special position has been recognized not only

in the Act itself, but in the continued allocation to landlords of special seats in the Provincial Legislature. Those seats will ensure the representation in the Assembly of an important special interest. But, valuable as is the safeguard which the existence of these seats represents, it is essential for a landowning aristrocracy, if it is to exercise influence in the Councils of a Province, and to keep in touch with public opinion in a Province, to be prepared to face the rough and tumble of elections for the ordinary territorial seats. I am glad to hear that you appreciate that fact, and that members of the taluqdari families are in many areas preparing to submit themselves for the suffrages of the electors. I cannot overestimate the importance of the training in public life and public business which an appeal to the electorate involves."

25. CENTRAL NATIONAL MUHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION

Dec. 22, 1936

Extract from reply to Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta on December 22, 1936 :—

" I am grateful for the remarks which you have been kind enough to make about my recent address to the Central Legislature, and I welcome the assurance which you have given me that the members of your very important Association, along with other Muhammadans inhabiting Bengal, have decided to work the new Constitution in the spirit of tolerance and co-operation which I commended to all classes and communities in my address. We are dealing with one of the greatest constitutional changes which has taken place in any country in modern times. The experiment involved is a great one ; its magnitude is an earnest of the trust and confidence reposed by the British people and by Parliament in the statesmanship and the ability of India and her elected representatives. But, for the successful implementing of any change, great or small, in the constitutional position of a country, we need good-will, co-operation and the readiness on the part of all concerned to place the claims of the country before the claims of self or party. You need have no fear so far as Government is concerned that the new Reforms will not be worked in the spirit in which they have been offered to India by Parliament. I look, in the same way, to all classes, all creeds, and all communities in India to play their part, by turning these Reforms to the fullest possible use and by accepting in a spirit of service, the vast responsibilities which under the Government of India Act will fall upon the elected representatives of the Provinces, and ultimately upon the Central Legislature and the Federal Ministry.

I have carefully pondered the remarks you have made as to the relation of Federation to the position of Muhammadans in India. Federation is unquestionably coming, and coming in the very near future. All the indications point that way, and the results of the discussions which my special emissaries have recently been having with Their Highnesses of the Princely Order confirm me in my view. So far as the Muhammadan Community in India are concerned, I am well satisfied, as the result of my own long and close association

with the discussions which led up to the framing of the Government of India Act and the Federal scheme, and in particular with those parts of the discussions which dealt with the safeguarding of the rights and privileges of minorities, that no community has any reason to be apprehensive under Provincial Autonomy or, for that matter, under Federation, of the results of the constitutional changes which have now been approved, and I feel sure that I can rely upon an Association of such standing and such unquestioned authority as yours to make the position in this respect clear to your community.

In the limited time at my disposal it is hardly possible for me to deal in detail with all the points to which you have been good enough to refer in your address. Let me only say that on one point, and that a point of substantial importance, I have already made clear, in replying to an address presented to me ...... by a most representative deputation of Muhammadan gentlemen, the attitude of the Government of India in the matter of the difficulties which have arisen in Palestine.* I am glad to think that since that date the situation has eased to so marked a degree, and that the strong, authoritative, and impartial Commission which His Majesty's Government has established to investigate the position and the rival claims of the various communities concerned has been able to commence its investigations. I feel, with my own knowledge of the personnel of that Commission, that we can with confidence look forward to the balanced and judicious report which will embody the result of their enquiries.

I will not fail to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor your loyal message and the wishes that you have been good enough to express."

26. BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Extracts from reply to Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta on December 22, 1936 :— **Dec. 22, 1936**

" You rightly state that the responsibilities which will be handed over to elected ministers under the new Constitution will be very great indeed, and I am glad to see on all sides a realisation now of the fundamental nature of the change which has been introduced under the new Act, and of the real transfer of control and of responsibility to popularly elected ministers which it involved. Heavy as the task is, its very burden will be the test of the capacity of those to whom it has been transferred. But my own familiarity with the Provinces of this great country, and the men whom they have been able to produce, leaves me in no doubt that they will be able to provide alike ministers and representatives in the new provincial legislatures, who can be relied on to spare no effort in the cause of India and of their own Province, and to approach the great problems which will fall upon them with a single-hearted devotion to the interests of their country.

* Cf. p. 26 *ante*.

I am well aware of the difficulties with which their new responsibilities may confront them. But these are difficulties which confront ministers in every country in the world today. There is no country today which has a surplus of revenue over expenditure; there is no country in which the problem of unemployment is not great and serious; there is no country which does not have to face all the difficulties which arise from poverty, from under-feeding, and from lack of marketable foodstuffs at prices within the capacity of the poorest in the land. Those are the conditions which responsible ministers have to face the world over, and I am confident that ministers will be found in India no less well able to grapple with them than elsewhere.

I have listened with keen appreciation to the tribute, which you have paid in your remarks, to the invaluable work which His Excellency Sir John Anderson has done during the period of his office in Bengal. His record of achievement is one on which anyone might well look back with pride, and I am glad to think that, deeply as we shall regret to lose his services next year, he will leave Bengal with the affection and with the appreciation of its people, and with a full realisation on their part of the magnitude of the work which he has endeavoured to do for them.

I thank you again for the cordial welcome you have extended to me today."

27. "TO GENTLEMEN OF GREAT ESTATE"

Dec. 22, 1936

The example of the landed gentry of Great Britain is commended to the attention of large land-holders in India in his reply to Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association on December 22, 1936 at Calcutta. Extracts :—

"I have listened carefully to what you tell me of your concern at revolutionary communistic activities. That is a matter in which gentlemen of great estate such as those who make up the membership of your association can themselves do a very great deal. Sympathetic interest in the condition of the tenants resident on their estates—which has been so marked a feature of the landed gentry in the United Kingdom; that close personal contact which is in my view of vital importance whether one is dealing with one's own estate, or as a Governor, or a Government servant, with a province or a district; the remedying of those small grievances which can only come to the notice of a great landlord if he personally concerns himself with the management and the administration of his estate,—these are the ways in which landlords with a great stake in the country, a distinguished tradition and an established name can do much to dissipate those misunderstandings and to remove those grievances out of which in no small degree there emerge the subversive activities which you so rightly deprecate. I feel that no words of mine are necessary to encourage you in action on these lines.

Let me say in conclusion that you may rest assured that I shall do all in my power to live up to the undertaking which I gave in my

first address * to the people of India and to which you have referred in your address, and that so far as I am concerned, there will be no question of preference for one community before another or of differentiating between the communities, the different religions or the divergent interests of the people of this great sub-continent."

28. INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

The close connection between the prosperity of the cultivator and development of industry is emphasized by Lord Linlithgow in reply to the Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association on December 23, 1936 at Calcutta :— **Dec. 23, 1936**

" My remarks so far have been concerned primarily with agriculture. Agriculture must necessarily bulk very large in any general survey of the problems of India. But I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize and underline the close connection between the prosperity of the cultivator and the development of industry. Great as is the importance of industry (and the fact that my public utterances tend to refer more frequently to agriculture does not in any way mean that I am not fully conscious of the vital importance, to India, of industry organised on healthy lines), the great bulk of the population of this country live in the rural areas, and it is only if the agricultural population are in a position to turn to advantage, and to pay for, the products of industry, that industry can be really flourishing.

I am well aware of the vital problem of unemployment which at the time indeed afflicts not only India but in some degree most countries in the world. None is more constantly present to me, and there is none which has caused me greater searching of mind, or which is more difficult of immediate solution. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments are anxiously considering various methods of easing the situation, and you may be sure that no effort is being spared in this regard. I am glad to think that in this Presidency, thanks to the keen and close interest of Sir John Anderson and to the co-operation of the inhabitants of Bengal, substantial progress has been made in dealing with one of the most difficult and most painful problems of the modern world ; and the organised efforts which are being made by the Local Government with the full support of public opinion, have my sincerest sympathy and support."

* Cf. p. 3 *ante*.

29. INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

Dec. 23, 1936

The increase in the national income of India in a period of depression, the policy of protection, the importance of co-operation between Government and the people, are among the questions touched in Lord Linlithgow's reply to an Address of Welcome from the Indian Chamber of Commerce on December 23, 1936 at Calcutta. Extract :—

" You have dealt in some detail in your address with the progress of industrialization and you have drawn attention to a fact which I, like you, agree in regarding as significant—the fact that the national income of India has been enhanced in a period of depression. On the question of protection I would say only that I am I think right in holding the view that there is a growing recognition among Indian industrialists of the fact that protection, if sufficient discrimination is not exercised, may produce unfortunate effects, and that it is unwise to overestimate the potentialities which it offers for the reduction of unemployment. You have suggested too that a vigorous and comprehensive national industrial policy is essential, and you have been good enough to indicate that the impetus might well come from the Centre. I will only say on that point that to the best of my judgment the policy of the Central Government upon this highly important question has been entirely consistent ; and that in the Provinces Ministers, who both under the late Act, and under the Government of India Act of 1935, have been and will continue to be directly concerned with it have, I think I am right in saying, consistently shown a full realisation of the importance of industrial development in all directions in which the differing conditions of individual provinces make such development possible. I observe with interest that the seat allotted in the Bengal Provincial Legislative Assembly to your Chamber has already been filled, and I feel no doubt that the representative of a body with experience and knowledge such as are at your disposal can be relied on to play an effective part in any discussions which may take place in the Provincial Assembly as affecting industrial development and improvement in Bengal.

In the remarks you have addressed to me you have stressed the importance of co-operation between Government and the people. I wholly share your view on that point and I regard it as of the first importance that co-operation should be of the closest. I am confident that you will at all times find on the part of officials, whether officials of the Government of India or of the Provincial Governments, an entire readiness to consider with sympathy any practicable propositions which may be laid before them for dealing with the many important matters to which you have referred. And if results of value are to be obtained, the friendly assistance, the interest, and the co-operation of non-official gentlemen and of bodies of a non-official character are essential. I know to what an extent these have on so many occasions been forthcoming : but it is I think not inappropriate to take the occasion of your remarks to say again how great an importance I attach to these considerations, and how sincerely I hope that, in the interests of progress, of provincial development, of the solution

of problems so fundamental as the problem of unemployment, it will continue to be afforded, and to be afforded indeed in a fuller measure even than in the past.

Without the ready co-operation of non-official elements the best results can hardly be looked for. Such co-operation is consistent with honest difference of opinion on many major issues, and indeed if in India we are to make a success of popular government, it is very necessary that we should learn rather to concentrate upon points of agreement than to overstress the significance of matters as to which some difference of opinion may have emerged. But, as I endeavoured to make clear in the address which I broadcast on assuming my present office, even if occasions arise on which I do not find myself able to agree in all matters with those with whose affairs I am concerned, I am prepared at all times to accept the sincerity and goodwill of those with whom I differ ; and I feel little doubt that that is equally true of the whole machine of government.

I am sorry that you should be dissatisfied with the attitude of my Government in regard to currency policy and to the composition of the Railway Enquiry Committee. Here again I fully recognise that currency policy is a matter on which different views may be held by different people, and with honest conviction on both sides. But it is also a question as to which it is well that the public in this country and the business community in particular should be fully seized of the policy and intentions of Government. As I recently indicated in reply to the Madras Currency League, the position is that in our considered view there is no case for reopening the question of the rupee ratio ; and furthermore it is my duty to tell you with the utmost plainness that there is not the least likelihood of that view being modified. As for the composition of the Railway Enquiry Committee, I have been concerned above all to secure a body of acknowledged experts and of outstanding ability, who could be relied upon to examine with entire detachment the important and for the most part highly technical problems presented by the railway system of this country, and to advise in the light of their great experience of similar difficulties in other countries as to the remedial action which might most appropriately be taken. The Committee will, I am sure, be more than grateful for any views which may be laid before them by traders or others, and for any expressions of opinion or for any suggestions which the commercial community of this country, or which a body so important as that which I now see before me may care to communicate to them. And I am confident equally from my own knowledge of the high capacity and the great experience of the members of the Committee that any such proposals or suggestions will receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your address. It has been a pleasure to me to meet you here today ; and I am grateful to you for the cordial welcome which you have extended to me. We may not always see eye to eye on all questions, and our difference of view may extend to matters of importance. But we are, I feel no doubt, at one

in aiming at securing that in the decisions which we take and the policy we advocate, the interests as we see them of India and of her citizens shall be the paramount and decisive consideration."

30. PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Dec. 28, 1936 *Extract from reply to an Address of Welcome from the Bengal Landholders' Association on December 28, 1936 at Calcutta :—*

"It is as I should have expected that a body representing landholders should display the keen interest in the improvement of cattle and of agriculture which is manifested by your address. These subjects are subjects of real importance and perennial and I feel sure that I can with confidence look to you to lend me your fullest support in the steps which are being made at the present time to improve the conditions of the cultivator, and to raise the standard of living in villages and in the rural parts of India. Landed proprietors such as those who make up your body can, if they exercise their legitimate influence, perform a service to the nation in this matter, the value of which I cannot exaggerate; and it is an encouragement to me to think that your interest in a problem of such moment and of such immediate importance should be so great. • •

I note what you say in regard to the Permanent Settlement. But I would remark on this that the constitutional position has been made perfectly clear in the Instruments of Instructions to the Governor-General and to Governors, of which the latter has been approved by Parliament. I do however know the importance that has been attached to this matter in the past and can only say that there need be no fear of a Governor-General dealing perfunctorily with any question that might come before him in that connection. Beyond this, as I hope you will realise, no further assurance is possible."

31. POWERS TRANSFERRED TO BURMANS

Jan. 8, 1937 *Extract from reply to an Address of Welcome from the Rangoon Municipal Corporation on January 8, 1937 at Rangoon :—*

"I sincerely thank you and the Councillors of the Municipal Corporation of Rangoon on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself for the cordial welcome which you have been so kind as to extend to us. I am very glad to be in Burma again, and to renew old memories of it. For not only did I spend some time in your fascinating country during my chairmanship of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, but I visited it as a young man some twenty-eight years ago, and I think I can claim to be the first Viceroy who has navigated the Tenasserim river and enjoyed the easterly breezes that blow from the Gulf of Siam across the narrow Isthmus of Kra. It is a great pleasure to me to be here today, all the more so because in view of the operation of the Government of Burma Act it is the last occasion on which it will fall to a Viceroy to visit Burma as a unit of the Indian Empire.

Burma is, as you remark, at the outset of great and significant changes. I am glad to think that I have been so closely associated with the discussions which led up to the decisions which those changes represent, and that I should have had the opportunity during those discussions of renewing and extending my earlier contacts with representatives, men and women alike, of political life in Burma. You rightly remark that one of the most significant features, from Burma's point of view, of the coming change is the severance of the political and administrative connection between her and India. On that matter I wholly share your view that the ties of common interest which bind the two countries together are of the closest, and that the commercial and economic relations between the two countries are and will continue to be of real importance. These relations, in so far as they are based on the common advantage of both parties, are unlikely to be affected prejudicially by political or administrative changes, and I trust sincerely that under the new dispensation a close and friendly connection will continue to be maintained between countries so intimately associated over so long a period.

But, important as is the decision to separate Burma from India, that decision must not be allowed to obscure the vital significance of the constitutional changes which are embodied in the Government of Burma Act of 1935. The effect of the provisions of that Act is radically to change the constitutional position, and to transfer to the elected representatives of Burma great powers and great responsibilities. On the shoulders of those representatives, on the use made by the electorate of the wide and generous franchise embodied in the Act, on the co-operation of all races and all communities for the common good of Burma, depend essentially the future development and the future prosperity of this great and historic country. I am confident that that unity and co-operation will be forthcoming—for these are of the utmost importance; that those responsibilities will be discharged with zeal and with distinction; and that the great potentialities for good or ill which accompany the wide franchise and the extensive legislative powers which result from the constitutional changes which take effect in April will continually be present alike to the electorate and to the elected representatives of Burma. I shall myself no longer stand in any official relation to Burma once those changes have taken place. But you may rest assured that I shall watch with close interest the fortunes of a country to which I have always been so much attached, and which I have been so fortunate as to see at so many different stages of its constitutional development."

32. SCOUT JAMBOREE

Feb. 3, 1937

Speech at the opening of the All-India Boy Scout Jamboree at Delhi on February 3, 1937 :—

"Chief Scout and Brother Scouts,—I am commanded by His Majesty the King-Emperor, to deliver to you the following gracious message, which is signed by his own hand :—

My personal connection with the Boy Scout Movement in England enables me to appreciate fully the keenness of both Scouters and Scouts under the leadership of the Chief Commissioner, Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, in having brought the Movement to its ever-increasing high standing in numbers and efficiency throughout India.

I would congratulate you all especially on the valuable public services rendered by Scouts on various occasions.

I wish every success to the All-India Jamboree at Delhi, and hope that it may have far-reaching effects both in giving fresh inspiration to you who take part in it, and in commending the Scout Movement to parents and public as a training school in all the qualities of body, mind and spirit which tend to make good citizens for India.

GEORGE R. I.

I am glad to be with you today and, as Chief Scout for India, to see a Jamboree at which every Province and every State affiliated to the Boy Scout Movement is represented. I am particularly happy to have this opportunity to welcome, on behalf of all of you and of India, the Chief Scout himself. I know well what good work the Boy Scout Movement has done, and at Kurukshetra and in the Quetta earthquake—to take two outstanding examples only—you rendered to your country service of the greatest possible value. In every Province I have visited I have been glad to see representative contingents of Boy Scouts, and to find them smart, well-disciplined, orderly, and keen.

His Majesty the King-Emperor, in the gracious message which I have just read to you, emphasises the importance of the Movement as a training school in all the qualities of body, mind and spirit, which tend to make good citizens for India. Those of us who have been fortunate enough to see the working of the Movement and the results it has achieved in this country, realise fully how well-earned has been the praise which His Majesty has bestowed on the Movement.

Let us see to it that we continue to grow in numbers and in efficiency : true to our motto and faithful to our Scout promise."

33. THE PRINCES AND FEDERATION

"I can frankly tell Your Highnesses", says Lord Linlithgow referring to the discussions between his representatives and representatives of States on the Princes' problems relating to Federation, "that one outcome of those discussions has been to present in a new light to my own mind more than one aspect of this many-sided problem". Extract from speech at the opening of the 14th Session of the Chamber of Princes on February 24, 1937 :— **Feb. 24, 1937**

"To turn now for a moment to the international field, I would refer with warm appreciation—and I feel sure that in doing so I shall be voicing the sentiments of all of Your Highnesses—to the work of Sir Seray Mal Bapna in 1935 and of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari in 1936 as Members of the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations. Their reports are to be laid before Your Highnesses in the course of this Session and will, I know, be studied with the keenest interest.

My distinguished predecessor Lord Willingdon informed Your Highnesses in 1935 of the advance that had up to that time been made in the policy of bringing all the Indian States into direct relations with the Government of India. That process has recently been completed, a fact which I trust Your Highnesses will regard as a cause for satisfaction; though I would not wish to appear in any way to minimise the reality of the debt of gratitude towards those Provincial Governments with whom they have for so long been in such close relationship, which I know those Rulers naturally feel. But the change is one that is demanded alike by logic and the force of circumstances, altered as they are by the advent of new constitutional conditions in India.

Your Highnesses are aware of the steps taken by me since I assumed charge of my present office, designed to assist individual Rulers in reaching, at an early date, a decision in regard to their attitude towards the Federation of India. I am encouraged by the communications that I have received from many quarters to believe that the discussions that have taken place with my representatives have been of assistance and have served to clarify a number of points. I can frankly tell your Highnesses that one outcome of those discussions has been to present in a new light to my own mind more than one aspect of this many-sided problem. The substance of those discussions has now been collated and is being subjected to close examination. My strong hope is that means may be found in the not too distant future, to reach conclusions satisfactory to all concerned. Your Highnesses are, I know, as fully alive as I am to the importance, at the stage which we have now reached, of a very early decision as to your attitude towards the Federal Scheme. You can rely on me to continue as in the past to do all in my power to help you in reaching that decision by placing at the disposal of the Princely Order all such assistance as I properly can."

34. END OF UNITARY SYSTEM

Mar. 15, 1937 *Extract from His Excellency Lord Linlithgow's speech at a dinner by the Hon'ble Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, President, Council of State, (Central) on March* 15, 1937 :—

" You have reminded us that India stands at this moment upon the threshold of profound constitutional change. The great provincial electorates have made their choice, and upon the first day of next month provincial autonomy becomes an accomplished fact. From that moment the unitary system of government which has for so long a period of time obtained in this country comes to an end, and the eleven Provinces of British India adventure forth upon their several ways. It is indeed a moment of the highest political significance, and one in which it behoves all public men most anxiously to measure their words. Ladies and gentlemen, it is at a time such as this that the representative of the Crown, be he the Governor-General or the Governor of a Province, must needs remind himself that it is his bounden duty to stand above party interests and party differences, and to keep steadily before his mind his obligations not only to those whose cause has triumphed, but also those who have tasted the bitterness of defeat. Let me assure you that, in anything I may say this evening, that double duty is very present to my mind. And again, I am bound at this time to remember the fundamental nature of the change that is about to take place as between the Centre and the Provinces. Indeed, it is of the essence of the system of Government upon which we are embarking that it provides for each province free play within the limits of domestic policy to develop in the manner best suited to the circumstances, political and economic, of those who dwell within its bounds. It is most necessary that those of us who approach this question from the viewpoint of the Central Government, whatever the sphere of our responsibility, should keep steadily before us the proper limits of our action towards the Provinces, and that we should respect scrupulously those limits from the moment that provincial autonomy becomes effective.

It is, of course, inevitable that the advent of constitutional changes so profound should be accompanied by the appearance in the political life of the country of some degree of stress and difficulty. Indeed, it would be unreasonable to expect that the process of adjustment to the new conditions upon which the country is about to enter will be immediately completed. But I am quite confident that that adjustment will be made, and I believe that it will come much sooner and with a good deal less difficulty than many appear to expect. The opportunities for useful and honourable service to the community which now lie before Governments and legislatures in the provincial sphere are indeed very great. I have faith in the zeal and public spirit of those into whose hands the electorates have entrusted those opportunities. It will be both the duty and the privilege of the Governors of Provinces, and of the Governor-General in his proper sphere, to collaborate with the several provincial

ministries in their most responsible tasks in a spirit of sympathy, helpfulness and co-operation. That indeed is the spirit in which this constitution, constructed after great and prolonged labours by the joint endeavours of the representatives of both races, is offered to the Indian people. If all concerned will approach in faith and courage the great charge which is laid upon them, determined to do their utmost faithfully to serve the highest interest of the people, then I am very confident that those apprehensions and doubts, sincerely held I know, which now trouble many minds, will disappear like the mists of morning before the rising sun.

You have mentioned, Sir Maneckji, my close personal interest in all that touches the welfare of the rural population. Let me say in all sincerity that I believe most firmly that one of the beneficent consequences destined to flow from the new constitution is a quickening of public interest in all questions that concern the countryside and, particularly, in the vigorous prosecution of practical steps designed to ameliorate the lot of the peasant. It is my constant and earnest hope that in every Province of India fresh life and vigour may be infused into this great endeavour, and that the work which has been, I think, well begun, may go forward with increasing momentum and effect towards the goal which we all have in view.

I am most grateful to our host for the kind words that he used about my wife. She is most anxious, I know, to do all that lies in her power to bring help and comfort to the women and children of India and to give aid to those borne down by sickness. She tells me that she has been deeply impressed and immensely heartened by the enthusiasm and the zeal of those with whom her interest in these matters has brought her into contact. With some experience of the treatment in Great Britain of that dread disease, tuberculosis, it is her hope and mine that we may live to see in India the adoption and vigorous prosecution of measures adequate to the increasing seriousness of the position of tuberculosis in this country."

35. OVERSEAS HOUSE, LONDON

Message broadcast on the occasion of the opening by His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, of Overseas House, London, on April 14, 1937 :— **April 14, 1937**

"I warmly welcome the opening of the new building of the Overseas League. The League performs a function of the greatest value in bringing together members of every country in the Empire in those social and personal relations the importance of which in fostering good understanding and good fellowship is so great. Its work, and the friendly assistance it has at all times given to Indian students, are well known in India, and I am glad to think that the number of Indians, from every part of the sub-continent, included in its membership should be so large. The League has set before itself a great and significant ideal. It is my earnest hope that in its new headquarters, which have today the honour of being opened by His

Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, the League will flourish and prosper, and that the help and assistance which it has in the past so freely given to visitors to London from overseas will, in this new building, be at their disposal in an even greater degree than has been practicable in the past."

36. CORONATION OF KING GEORGE VI

May 12, 1937 *Message broadcast on the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty King George VI on May* 12, 1937 :—

"India acclaims the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress crowned today, and proudly affirms her devoted and unswerving allegiance to the Throne and Person of the Sovereign. From every quarter of her wide territories, the prayers of the people go up that strength and guidance may be vouchsafed to Those whose lives are henceforth dedicated to the service of Their subjects.

In no part of the world is the virtue of Kingship, in its profound spiritual significance, and with its deep and moving appeal to the heart of man, more widely, or more sincerely appreciated than in this ancient land of India.

On this auspicious day, sustained by the glorious memories of trials and triumphs shared together, and with high confidence in the years to come, the Princes and People of India join with every part of the British Empire in pledging once again their loyal fealty to the Imperial Crown."

37. INDIAN LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY

May 25, 1937 *Though the problems of livestock industry in India now lay within the provincial sphere of administration, Lord Linlithgow pointed out the opportunities open to the Central Government to advance the cause throughout India. Speech in opening the Cattle Conference in Simla on May* 25, 1937 :—

"Gentlemen,—Let me first of all assure you how happy I am to welcome you all to this Conference and to the Headquarters of my Government.

The purpose of this gathering is that we may take counsel together upon the question of what may best be done in order to promote an early improvement and development of the livestock industry throughout India—in other words, to consider what practical steps can be taken to secure the better breeding and feeding of Indian cattle.

The subjects with which this Conference is concerned have for many years lain within the Provincial sphere of administration. The opportunities for service open to the Central Government are now in the main limited to the fields of specialised instruction, research and the control and prevention of animal diseases. It is also the duty of the Centre to promote the exchange of information between Province

and Province and to provide, from time to time, opportunity for the discussion of which the present occasion is, I venture to think, a happy example. And let me hasten to add that not the least valuable outcome of such a gathering as this is that it affords guidance to the Central Government as to the manner in which it can best serve the requirements of the whole country. Acting upon the advice of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India, our equipment for this work has recently been extended by the strengthening of the central institution for animal research, while—as Sir Jagdish Prasad has told you—our proposals for a central institution for higher veterinary instruction are now assuming definite shape.

Gentlemen, it is not necessary that I should remind an audience such as this that the ox is the foundation of India's agriculture. Indeed, I am aware of no other single contribution which it lies within our power to make towards the enhancement of the agricultural wealth of this country which, in its potential value, is in any degree comparable with the general improvement of livestock. It has been calculated that the total annual cash value of livestock in India, if we include the annual value of cattle labour, dairy produce, manure and other products, is of the order of 1,300 crores of rupees. That no doubt is an approximate figure, but it serves at least to indicate the immense values at issue, and the scope afforded in this direction for the enhancement of the country's wealth.

And here let me say that, while cattle must be the chief concern of this meeting, many of the proposals which may result from your deliberations will be applicable to other branches of the industry such as sheep and goat breeding, both, in my opinion, deserving of and certain to repay, in full measure, the early attention of the departments concerned; while wool production, the hides and skin industry, and, in some Provinces, horse breeding may well derive benefit as a consequence of your labours.

It is impossible to overstate the importance to the agriculturists of India of an adequate supply of good working bullocks. For the bullock provides practically the sole source of power available to the cultivator, whether for cultivation, for transport, or for the lifting of irrigation water. Nor need I emphasize the value of cattle manure or the importance of the place which cattle dung used as fuel still holds in the domestic economy of a large proportion of the rural population, much as we may regret that fact.

The great importance of milk production, whether produced by the cow or the buffalo, from the point of view of the country at large as well as from that of the cultivator himself, is now widely recognized. The facts as regards the average consumption of milk and milk-products per head of the population, so far as these are at present available, go to show that, while there is great variation in this matter as between region and region and between household and household even in the same village, there is no doubt that the average consumption of dairy produce is too low, more particularly

when it is remembered that we are dealing with a country in which the diet of human beings is so largely vegetarian, and in which there is therefore a special need for such protective animal foods as milk, ghee and curds. In this matter of developing the production and distribution of milk and milk-products, we look forward to the report of Dr. N. C. Wright, Director of the Hannah Dairy Research Institute, who recently spent five months in India examining our problems.

For the development on sound lines of animal husbandry as a whole and the cattle industry in particular, a scientific foundation is required, and the Central Government have recently given special consideration to the requirements of the country in this respect. Additions have been made to the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, and well-equipped sections for animal nutrition and poultry research have been provided at the Izatnagar branch of the Institute. When the section on animal genetics has been added, the Institute will compare favourably with similar institutes in other parts of the world. The function of a central institute of this kind is to promote cattle improvement and the control of disease in the Provinces. But it will at once be obvious that unless suitable organizations exist in the Provinces which are capable of co-operating fully with the experts maintained at central institutions, much of the labour at the Centre may be wasted and the ryot will fail to obtain the full measure of help which he needs. As I have already said, this is a Provincial question and each Province has its own special requirements and limitations, but it seems desirable that we should take counsel together in this all-important matter, for it is abundantly clear that, if anything adequate is to be done for the improvement of cattle in India, more technical staff of every grade is needed and, above all, continuity in breeding policy.

I am indeed glad to tell you that the response to my appeal for breeding bulls and for funds with which to purchase and maintain them has been highly gratifying. The position at present is that, in addition to a number of collective donations, as many as 1,073 individuals have responded to my appeal with donations of either animals or money. No fewer than 1,322 bulls have been presented or promised, while the cash subscriptions which have been offered amount in all to no less a sum than Rs. 1,65,000. In addition a sum of Rs. 1,000 has been received for the rescue of valuable animals from city byres. This response has been a very great encouragement to me, for I am convinced that better sires must be the foundation of our policy of breed improvement. But let me remind you that better bulls can only be the first step. It is essential, if real and lasting benefits are to accrue, that the bulls should be adequately maintained. The question of opening a Cattle Improvement Fund in each Province is, therefore, a matter in which I take the keenest interest. The purpose of these organizations would be the provision of adequate financial resources, the creation of an organization devoted to the proper care and maintenance of all approved stud bulls; and ultimately, I hope, the provision of further suitable animals.

The art of breed improvement must inevitably be founded upon the accurate recording of pedigrees. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, with the co-operation of the appropriate Provincial Departments, has undertaken the establishment of pedigree herd books for the principal milch cow breeds of India and as a first step has set up a small committee for the definition of breed characteristics. This is a type of work which I greatly hope may be much more fully developed provincially, not only by the establishment of provincial pedigree herd books for the most important draught breeds, but also by a more extensive system of registration of all the stock produced from 'Gift' and other good sires. The fact must be faced that, laborious as such registration may be, it is essential if the continuous improvement of Indian cattle is to be secured. Without registration of progeny, and of their performances, even a very extensive system of distribution of stud bulls may easily fail to make any lasting impression on the cattle of the country. Method well devised and faithfully pursued through a long series of years is essential to the achievement of complete success.

Let me at this stage assure you that I have at all times in mind the excellent work on cattle breeding that has already been carried out, mainly by provincial departments—work which in many districts has already yielded a rich return in the shape of a general improvement in the local breeds.

Unless cows, calves and bullocks are to be fed better than is at present the case, efforts to improve breeding will obviously be of little avail, and I am glad to note that two of the four items on the agenda of this Conference deal with this aspect of cattle improvement. The provision of better grazing and the greater production of suitable fodder crops are two separate but closely related aspects of this great problem. The former was discussed at length by the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry at Madras last December, their task being greatly lightened by the labours of a most important preliminary conference of Forest Officers which has done much to clarify the position as regards forest grazing and the utilization of waste land. The Board have made some important recommendations both as to the better utilization of existing grazing areas and the possibility of converting land at present waste into useful pastures. In this connection it is my personal opinion that further research and experimental work on the grasses of India, and the possibility of acclimatizing useful exotic fodder grasses, are matters deserving of early attention. India is not a pastoral country as judged by the usual standards of temperate climates. Nevertheless the improvement of the grazing lands, and an increase in their extent, might do much to raise the general standard of the working cattle of the country. In most areas however the grazing must be supplemented by other foods and for the actual feeding of a very large percentage of our animals we must depend on the straws of cereal crops and on fodder crops. The time has come when there must be deliberate crop-planning for increased fodder crop production. Without anticipating the discussion on this subject, it may be said that, if the additional resources placed at the cultivators' disposal by

improved varieties of staple crops and by improved irrigation facilities are wisely used, there is scope for a much larger production of fodder crops, especially leguminous crops, in a manner which would mean a gradual and steady rise in the efficiency of the cultivator and his cattle. The proposal of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry that each Province should set up a grazing and fodder committee linked up with a central sub-committee under the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research will be submitted for your consideration as a practical way of making a start and at the same time of arranging for an interchange of information and experience. I cannot overstate my sense of the vital importance to India of this question of animal nutrition, for I believe it to be true to say that an essential step towards the better nourishment of man must be to improve the food supply of his animals.

Let me end as I began by affirming my profound conviction that we can make no greater contribution towards the welfare of the cultivator than by promoting the improvement of the cattle throughout India. Let me also assure you that success in this endeavour is within our reach and competence,—technically, administratively and financially, if we can but come to a right policy and if we persist in our endeavours. Public opinion and the enthusiasm of the agriculturists are with us in no uncertain measure. Let us devote ourselves to this great purpose with high courage and unswerving devotion. I am confident that you, by your labours in this Conference, will make a most material contribution towards the advancement of Animal Husbandry in India."

38. THE END OF A STAGE

June 22, 1937

Lord Linlithgow points to the completion of the preliminary phase of what he set himself to achieve during his Viceroyalty for the promotion of national welfare. He outlines the basic structure, now complete; the propulsive power behind this many-sided organization must be the force of public opinion, which he does not doubt is destined to grow in power and extent.

Extract from the speech at the inaugural meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Health on June 22, 1937 :—

"I have been concerned recently to make myself familiar with the conditions of urban housing and sanitation. The standard reference on this question is, as you are well aware, the Report of the Whitley Commission on Labour. The chapters in that Report which deal with the question of housing in relation to industrial labour make extremely gloomy reading. That Commission reported more than six years ago. Being desirous of discovering what action may have followed the recommendations of the Whitley Report, I turned to the annual reports of the Public Health Commissioner and was a little surprised to find, since the Report of 1930, no single mention of this most important matter. A very heavy responsibility lies upon Governments in this matter and particularly upon Local Bodies. I

greatly hope that the silence of the Public Health Commissioner in his Reports may not mean that throughout these six years there has in fact been no progress to report. I hope too that in future the Reports of the Public Health Commissioner and of Provincial Directors of Public Health will provide the public with adequate information on this question. It is high time that a sharper civic conscience should be engendered in matters of this kind, and that a determined move should be made to discharge what is recognised by all who have examined the position to be a debt long overdue.

When I returned to India more than a year ago, I set myself to establish in the public mind the essential relationship between each of three orders of life : the life of the Plant ; the life of the Animal, and the life of the Man—or in other words the direct connection between agricultural progress, improved Animal Husbandry and human welfare nutritional and economic. During the same period I have urged on every available occasion the completion of that chain of research and propaganda bodies whose existence would connote the recognition by Governments everywhere of the vital, the overwhelming importance to India of the trinity to which I have referred. How much still remains to be done, we are all but too well aware ; but at least we may claim that this meeting today marks the completion of the preliminary phase, which is the setting up of the essential organizations and the establishment between them of due liaison at the appropriate points. How does the picture now appear ? We have agricultural, irrigation and veterinary research and propaganda whether at the Centre or in the Provinces in good shape, and a growing impulse towards the establishment in all Provinces of organization towards improved animal husbandry. We are facing up to the difficult problems of animal nutrition. We have a well-designed system of liaison between all these branches of science. We have at Coonoor an active research organization in Human Nutrition. During the past year we have seen established a Nutrition Advisory Committee, with the Public Health Commissioner as Chairman and Dr. Aykroyd of Coonoor as its Secretary, and we have planned to create a link between agricultural research and research in human nutrition by the provision of a trained nutritionist at the new Agricultural School at Delhi. In the same period and through the agency of the Nutrition Advisory Committee, there has been initiated at Coonoor the first three-months' course in human nutrition designed to equip officers selected by the Central and Local Governments with a view to ensuring that each Government might have at its disposal in its Public Health Department at least one officer with that special knowledge. Officers from seven Provinces and one Indian State attended the course. I greatly hope that Provinces not represented at the first course may find it possible to nominate each an officer to attend the next course which will be held in the near future.

From this brief description of the existing position you will see that the basic structure is now complete. The propulsive power behind this many-sided organization must be the force of public opinion. That this force, expressed through the medium of democratic

institutions, is destined to grow in power and extent, I have no doubt; and I make bold to affirm my conviction that in the years to come it will be found that the contribution made by this comprehensive endeavour towards improving the lot of the people, both rich and poor, will amply justify the means and labour expended upon it.

Let me say a word in conclusion with regard to the internal arrangements and organization of this Board. In the first place, it is well to make clear that there can be no question of your activities encroaching in any way whatever upon the jurisdiction of the Provinces in matters which have long lain within their unfettered control. Subject to that consideration, which must be paramount, it is—I think—true to say that on all hands there exists a growing conviction as to the immense value to every part of the country of a body such as this, which affords opportunities of mutual consultation and the interchange of views and experience between Province and Province and—I like to think—between Provinces and States; which insures that the Government of India shall be in sympathetic touch with the Provinces; and which in its capacity as an advisory body in organic union with the Central Government will be capable of bringing to a common denomination the varied opinions of Governments throughout the sub-continent in matters pertaining to Public Health, as to which the Central Government may find itself concerned in the field of international consultation. Indeed, I think it is an occasion for mutual congratulation that every Province in British India has seen fit to nominate its representative to this Board. Again, I do not doubt that when its library and statistical branch is completely organized, the Board will be found to render invaluable service as a centre to which its constituents may turn for information of every sort, while the ever-growing mass of technical literature in many languages upon Public Health questions will, by its services, be made readily available to those who desire to make use of it."



AT THE LADY LINLITHGOW SANATORIUM, KASAULI

PART II

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

1. A CONSTITUTIONAL EXPOSITION

This message dispelled Congress doubts and resulted in the assumption of power by the party in the six provinces in which, in the general elections, it had been returned in a majority to the popular house.

The Provincial part of the Constitution Act of 1935, *came into operation on April* 1, 1937.

In its election manifesto, the Congress party had proclaimed that its purpose was to "combat" the Act and "to end it". After its electoral triumph in the six provinces, the Congress Working Committee demanded in a resolution in March, 1937, *as a condition of acceptance of office by Congressmen, that the Governors should not use their special powers of interference or set aside the advice of their Ministers in regard to the latter's constitutional activities.*

As a result of Lord Linlithgow's message, the Congress Working Committee decided that the circumstances and events warranted the belief that it would not be easy for the Governors to use their special powers, and the Congress Parliamentary Parties formed Ministries.

Lord Linlithgow preceded his message on the constitutional position by " a word to each one of you personally " in a broadcast.

(i) A WORD PERSONALLY

Text of Lord Linlithgow's broadcast message on the "Indian Constitutional Position" *on June* 21, 1937 :— **June 21, 1937**

"I am issuing tomorrow a message to India. Tonight, I wish to say a word to each one of you personally with regard to that message, and to commend it to your sympathy and your consideration.

The constitutional position, and the doubts and uncertainties that exist in relation to that position in many parts of India and in different political parties, are familiar to you all. Having watched with anxious, friendly, and open-minded attention, the course of public discussion upon these most important questions, and having observed the movements of public opinion as reflected in the utterances of public men and in the comments of the press, I am strongly of opinion that the difficulties still remaining are due in great degree to misapprehensions, and that these difficulties are therefore

susceptible, given goodwill on all hands, of being resolved and finally removed by a thorough and patient analysis of their nature.

In my message, I have sought to supply a comprehensive and authoritative exposition of the issues most immediately in debate, and my hope is that I may thereby have assisted you in arriving at a right conclusion upon a matter of the gravest moment to each one of you, as well as to the future of your country.

In forming your opinion on these questions, I counsel you to take into review not only the technical and theoretical points at issue, but also the broad and general relationship of the whole body of reform incorporated in the new Constitution both to the underlying circumstances at this time existing in India, and to the course of political evolution in this country over the past eighteen years. In directing your attention to these considerations, I am concerned to secure that in exercising your judgment, you may give due weight to the extreme inexpediency of interrupting—even temporarily—at this critical juncture, the rhythm and momentum of continuous and progressive political reform, unless upon proven and substantial grounds of overwhelming significance.

Ten years ago, when—with the Agricultural Commission—I travelled the length and breadth of this great country, I was animated by an intense desire to help the rural population, and to do what I might towards making the Indian countryside a better place in which to live. But the general impressions that I formed in those two years were by no means limited to the subject of our enquiry. For, in my journeyings, by observation and by converse with men and women of many and varied opinions, I came to a new understanding of the political problem with which we are confronted in India, and I began to comprehend something of what I may call the Indian point of view, and of how the complex of Indian affairs, with which I had grown familiar from the angle of one living in Great Britain, is viewed by those to whom India is a beloved mother ; the cradle of their race ; and the object of their deepest affections and of their highest hopes. This experience had brought about, I may truthfully tell you, a profound change in my own outlook and opinions, and when I found myself in the chair of the Joint Select Committee I was moved to hope that it might be vouchsafed to me to make at least a contribution, however humble, towards the assuagement of those political difficulties which have disturbed the relationship between India and my own country, and which are due in the main to the development of political thought in this country and to a growing consciousness amongst Indians of the greatness of their country, and of the high destiny towards which, from her history and her place in the world, India is entitled to aspire. Patriotism ; love of liberty ; faith in the virtue of liberal institutions of government : these are qualities of which every man and woman of my own race is proud, and which indeed are manifest in supreme degree by those other communities overseas which have sprung from the loins of the Motherland. And so it has seemed to me that my countrymen should regard the growth in India of those same qualities and aspirations, not as a matter for anxiety

or disquiet, but rather as an occasion for pride and as a call upon them for their understanding sympathy, and their ready help; and if, in the workings of an inscrutable Providence, it may be given to them to assist with fostering care towards the establishment, in a unified India, of those beneficent principles of representative and responsible government which most of us hold to be the greatest contribution that Great Britain has made towards the secular progress of mankind, then what greater triumph could be theirs; or to what higher reward could they aspire? We have been fallible, and errors may have been committed; we are mortal and may have missed many opportunities. But if, after the long Odyssey of some two hundred years, we may come to know that by the labours of those of both races who have gone before us, and by our own endeavours, we have contributed towards the establishment in India of a system of government destined through the years to shine as a light in the Orient and to show the way of peace between East and West, then indeed we may claim that those labours have not been in vain. Such were the hopes and purposes that sustained and fortified me when I accepted, at the hand of my Sovereign, the heavy and responsible charge that I now hold; such is the spirit in which I have today addressed to you my message, to which once again I ask you to give your close and sympathetic attention."

(ii) MESSAGE TO INDIA

Text of the message on the constitutional position, dated June 22, 1937:— **June 22, 1937**

" I dare say you will recall that, when I spoke to you by wireless on the day I took charge of office as Viceroy, I gave you my view that we should be wise not to expect that constitutional changes as profound as those into which we have now entered could come about altogether without difficulty. I want today to say a few words to you about those difficulties as they have emerged, and to try my utmost to make some contribution towards their final dissipation. As you read this message, I would ask you to bear in mind two things. The first, that while I am truly anxious not to be more formal or technical than my task requires, it is very necessary that in dealing with this grave matter, I should use language of precision and that—even at the risk of imposing a heavy call upon your attention,—I should not attempt to shorten too much or to oversimplify the various matters I propose to discuss. The second, that even though—for the reasons I have just mentioned,—my words may seem to you a little formal, this does not mean that my personal approach to these problems is in the least degree cold or unsympathetic. I recognise to the full that your hearts as well as your minds are deeply stirred by these issues, and that a position such as that with which I am dealing can never be completely compassed by mere terms of law or of constitutional theory, because that position touches so closely those underlying springs of sentiment and emotion which—since we are creatures of flesh and blood—so profoundly move our minds and so largely shape our opinions.

I have refrained hitherto from making any public statement of any sort on the constitutional issues which have been raised by the refusal of the party which commands a majority of the votes in the legislatures to accept office in certain Provinces. My decision to do so was deliberate. The Governor-General, it is true, exercises under the Act a general control of the action taken by provincial Governors in their discretion or in their individual judgment, and he is himself correspondingly subject to the general control of the Secretary of State. But given the scheme, the intention, and the construction of the new Constitution, matters such as those which have of late been the subject of discussion in all Provinces in which the majority party in the legislatures has declined to accept office are eminently, in the first place, matters for discussion between the leaders of that party in the Province concerned and the Governor of that Province.

A point has now however been reached at which it will I think be of advantage that, for the benefit of the man in the street and the ordinary elector, I should myself take up the threads of this discussion in the light of the statements which have been made in Parliament by the Secretary of State, and in individual Provinces by the Governors, and that I should state comprehensively, in the most formal and public manner open to me, my attitude, which is equally the attitude of the Secretary of State and of the Governor of every Province in India, on the constitutional issues which have been brought to the fore in connection with this question of office acceptance. Before I proceed to discuss the situation in its constitutional aspect ; to restate formally the constitutional position as between Governors and their ministers ; and to place on record once again, at the climax of this discussion, the spirit in which Governors, the Governor-General, and His Majesty's Government, approach this matter, let me say briefly how great, in my judgment, has been the value of the discussions which have taken place on this matter in the last three months. Those discussions have been of the utmost significance. Their outcome is of importance to every parliamentary party in this country, without exception. That genuine misapprehensions and misunderstandings existed three months ago in certain quarters as to the relation of Governors to their ministers, and as to the extent to which or the manner in which Governors would be likely to interfere with the day-by-day administration of a Province by the ministry in power, statements made by responsible party leaders have made abundantly clear. I am glad to think that those misapprehensions and those misunderstandings have now in so substantial a degree been removed by the discussions which have taken place in Parliament, in the press, and on public platforms. Those discussions have made it possible for those who felt doubts as to the object and the scheme of the Act, and as to the position and the attitude of Governors in the new Constitution, to test in the utmost detail, and from every angle, the weakness or strength of various lines of argument, and to advance, with that object in view, hypotheses of the most varying character. And they have given the Representatives of His Majesty in this country, and His Majesty's Government at home, opportunities personally to dissipate misunderstandings,

and to make clear in the most unmistakable manner their conception of the nature of the duties which fall upon the Governors of Provinces; of the spirit in which those Governors are expected by Parliament, and themselves propose, to discharge those duties; of the relations in which Governors contemplate working with their ministers; and of the extent to which Governors stand themselves entirely outside party, and to which they are at the disposal of any ministry which is prepared to work the Constitution within the terms of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The interval which has passed has been of value as giving an opportunity to His Majesty's Government, to Parliament, and to individual Governors, to clarify the position beyond any shadow of doubt. It has been of value, in my judgment, also in terms of the experience of the practical working of the new Constitution afforded since the 1st of April in every Province in India, whether the ministries in power in a Province commanded a majority in the legislatures or were themselves supported only by a minority in those bodies. Three months ago a great political party, which commanded in six Provinces a majority in the legislature, felt that, even with the support of the majority in the legislature, it could not wisely accept office under the provisions of the Act unless it received certain specific assurances from Governors. Three months' experience of the operation of the Constitution, short as I agree that that period is, has conclusively shown from the practical point of view that, any legal difficulties in regard to the grant of such assurances apart, those assurances are not essential to the smooth and harmonious working of the Constitution. In every Province ministers have been able to test by practical experience that the co-operation and the assistance of the Services are at their disposal, and that they can in their dealings in the day-by-day administration of the Province, and in their relations with the Governors of their Provinces, rely on those Governors to place at their disposal in the fullest measure and with no shade or suggestion of prejudice or personal feeling that help, sympathy, co-operation and experience which the Governors of individual Provinces have promised. Those three months have shown equally, and beyond question, that the apprehensions which have been entertained—and I readily accept the sincerity of those apprehensions even if I see no foundation of fact for them—that Governors would seek occasions for interfering with the policy of their ministers, or for the gratuitous and uncalled for exercise of the special responsibilities imposed upon them by the Act to impede or challenge ministers in the day-by-day administration of the Province, have no shadow of justification.

I have been intimately associated with the framing of the present Constitution. I am familiar with the close concern shown by Parliament, whether in the Joint Select Committee or on the floor of both Houses to devise a scheme which would confer real and substantial powers on popularly elected ministers, and which would enable those ministers to feel that they could with confidence frame and implement with the co-operation of Governor and of the Services a programme of legislation on broad lines for the benefit of the Province

the government of which was in their hands. The Act, and the Instrument of Instructions which must be read with the Act, have been approved by Parliament. Taken together they represent the intention of Parliament and the instructions given by Parliament to Governors. Those documents make it clear beyond any possibility of question that, under Provincial Autonomy, in all matters falling within the ministerial field, including the position of the minorities, the services, etc., the Governor will ordinarily be guided in the exercise of his powers by the advice of his ministers, and that those ministers will be responsible not to Parliament but to the provincial legislature. The only qualifications of this rule are in respect of certain specific and clearly defined matters. The most important of these are those known as the special responsibilities, and of those special responsibilities again the most important are the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part of the Province, the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities, and the securing to the services and their dependants of any rights provided or preserved for them under the Act and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests. Of those special responsibilities none was lightly placed by Parliament, or inconsiderately, on the shoulders of the Governor. Everyone of them represents the response of Parliament to the demands of substantial and legitimate interests. There is no vestige of foundation for the assertion which I have seen advanced that the Governor is entitled under the Act at his pleasure to intervene at random in the administration of the Province. Those special responsibilities are, as I have said, restricted in scope to the narrowest limits possible. Even so, limited as they are, a Governor will at all times be concerned to carry his ministers with him ; while in other respects in the field of their ministerial responsibilities it is mandatory on a Governor to be guided by the advice of his ministers even though for whatever reason he may not himself be wholly satisfied that that advice is in the circumstances necessarily and decisively the right advice. The extent to which in practice, given goodwill on both sides and a desire to operate the new constitution for the benefit of the Province as a whole, difficulty may be anticipated from the existence of these special responsibilities cannot be better exemplified than by the history of every Province in India during the past three months. I think I am right in saying that no occasion has arisen on which there has been any conflict or difficulty in this area.

I have made clear, I hope, the object at which Parliament is aiming in the Act, the fact that it has transferred the executive authority in the Province in practice to ministers, and that the extent to which a Governor, acting in his discretion or in his individual judgment, has vested in him certain responsibilities is restricted to the bare minimum judged to be essential. I have indicated further that in the ministerial field there can be no interference by a Governor with ministers, save in respect of matters with regard to which he is empowered to exercise an individual judgment.

I now turn to the question of what is to happen if unfortunately a situation arises in which the Governor and his ministers do not see

eye to eye on a matter where he is required to exercise his individual judgment. Such an issue may arise over a matter of comparatively minor importance, or over a matter which is of major importance, but on which no responsible ministry, however little it might itself agree with the decision taken by the Governor would for a moment—or for more than a moment—contemplate resignation. I have already stated that ministers have the duty of advising the Governor over the whole range of the executive government within the ministerial field, including the area of the special responsibilities. For advice so given, whether on matters within or without the scope of the special responsibilities ministers are answerable to the legislature. In all such matters in which he is not specifically required to exercise his individual judgment, it is mandatory upon the Governor to accept the advice of his ministers. Within the limited area of his special responsibilities, a Governor is directly answerable to Parliament, whether he accepts or does not accept the advice of his ministers. But if the Governor is unable to accept the advice of his ministers, then the responsibility for his decision is his and his alone. In that event, ministers bear no responsibility for the decision and are entitled—if they so desire—publicly to state that they take no responsibility for that particular decision, or even that they have advised the Governor in an opposite sense.

But every Governor will be concerned to have the support of his ministry, or to know that he is not lightly at variance with his ministry when he acts without their support, or against their advice, in the discharge of a special responsibility. He will, as I see it (and the view I now proceed to express is the view of every Governor in India, and of the Secretary of State), in such circumstances in the first place put the ministry or the minister fully in possession of his mind. He will explain to him the reasons which in his judgment make it essential for him to follow a particular course or to pass a particular order. He will listen with a mind open to conviction to the arguments on the other side which may be advanced to him. If he regards those arguments as valid, he will modify his proposal to such extent as may be appropriate. If he regards them, on the other hand, as invalid, he will do his utmost, before taking a final decision, to convince the minister, or the ministry, of the soundness of the reason for which he is unable to accept his or their view. And if in these circumstances he still remains unable to influence their views in the direction he desires, he will take his decision and pass his order with the greatest personal regret that he should have been unable to secure the support of his ministry, and before passing it he will have exhausted all methods of convincing his ministry that that decision was the right one, given the obligation imposed upon him by the Act.

So much for the general basis on which, as I conceive it, a Governor will handle the situation which we have been discussing. But the special responsibilities, strictly defined as their ambit is, include in their compass matters and decisions the importance of which inevitably must vary greatly. I ask at once—is the same attitude

to be adopted in every case, whether its importance is great or small? Is the ministry to regard its position as affected in an equal degree by any and every decision of the Governor contrary to its advice, irrespective of the magnitude or the intrinsic importance of that decision? In a case in which the Governor in the exercise of his special responsibilities and after exhausting the method of approach to his ministry which I have indicated, finds himself obliged to pass an order with which his Government did not agree, should the Government resign, or shall it carry on its work after indicating publicly, or privately, or publicly and privately, its attitude in the matter which has formed the subject of the order? Or shall the Governor be required to dismiss it?

These are all points of practical importance. They have attracted great attention lately in all political parties, for a pronouncement on such an issue must be of direct concern to every party in every Province in India. I judge in particular from the statements made by persons of eminence in or in contact with the majority party in six Provinces that on the answer to them largely depends the final removal of any hesitations which may be entertained in that party as to the method in which the new Constitution is to be operated and the extent to which provincial ministers can rely on fair treatment and a minimum of interference by a Governor in those matters which under the Act fall within their field. The answer to these questions is of importance to every political party in this country to which it falls to work the Constitution, and to take advantage of the powers and responsibilities which have been transferred by the Government of India Act to popularly elected ministers. It will be well therefore, given the importance of this issue, that I should make plain beyond any question, and speaking with the fullest authority, my own position in regard to it, which is the position of the Secretary of State and of the Governors of the Provinces.

Let me say in the first place that it is essential in this matter to preserve a just sense of proportion. I welcome for this reason the helpful suggestion recently made by Mr. Gandhi that it is only when the issue between a Governor and his ministers constitutes a serious disagreement that any question of the severing of their partnership need arise. 'Serious disagreement' is a phrase which it is possible to define and to interpret in various ways. But the general sense is clear enough to anyone with any political or administrative experience. The matter involved must be of really major importance. It must, I would myself say, be of such a character that a ministry would feel that their credit and their position were hopelessly compromised by a particular action taken against their advice by a Governor in the discharge of his responsibilities under the Act despite the fact that ministers had no direct or indirect responsibility for that action, and that a Governor had taken the utmost pains to satisfy his ministry that he had no choice in the discharge of his responsibilities but to take the action in question. I readily agree that where, on such an issue arising, and where the Governor and his ministers have both

approached the matter, as I am confident that they would, with open minds and with a full sense of responsibility—the Governor, in so far as his special responsibilities are concerned, to Parliament, the ministry to the provincial legislature,—no agreement could be reached, then the ministry must either resign or be dismissed. As between resignation and dismissal, normal constitutional practice leans very heavily indeed to the side of resignation. Resignation is more consistent with the self-respect of a ministry, and is an effective public indication of the attitude of ministers towards the action of a Governor. Resignation equally is an act taken spontaneously by a ministry. Dismissal, more unusual by far in constitutional practice, might seem to carry with it some suggestion of inferiority, a suggestion which we are concerned at any cost to eliminate from the new constitutional arrangements. I ought perhaps to add that the suggestion that the Governor should in certain circumstances demand the resignation of his ministers is not the solution provided by the Act and so that it will not be possible for Governors to accept it. Both resignation and dismissal are possible, the former at the option of the ministers and the latter at the option of the Governors. But the Act does not contemplate that the Governor's option should be used to force the ministers' option and thus to shift the responsibility from himself.

I have deliberately dealt with the extreme case, of a conflict involving resignation or dismissal, for it is the extreme case on which attention has been rivetted. But the extreme case is in my judgment most unlikely in ordinary circumstances to arise, and it would be unwise of us to allow a contingency, by no means probable, given normal working and the friendly and understanding relations which we can without undue optimism anticipate between a Governor and his ministers, to assume a dominating importance in our eyes. In the ordinary way such differences as may arise between a Governor and his ministers will admit, with goodwill on both sides, of being resolved in the ordinary course of administration by agreement between the two parties, without any question of issues so major as resignation or dismissal coming to the fore. I have already indicated the method by which I anticipate that Governors will deal with a situation in which such a difference of opinion exists. I feel no doubt whatever myself that, on that basis, deadlocks need not be anticipated, in view of the anxiety of all Governors—to which I can myself testify—not merely not to provoke conflicts with their ministers, to whatever party their ministers may belong, but to leave nothing undone to avoid or to resolve such conflicts.

I have been the more concerned to set out in some detail the position as I see it, in that it is essential that those interests, or communities, or areas, to which the Act extends the assurance of the special responsibilities, should not, for a moment, think, or have the least ground for thinking, that any question will arise of sacrificing their interests for political reasons. So far as the individual Governors are concerned I can reassure them on that point with the utmost confidence and the fullest authority. So far as political parties go experience in those Provinces which are at present governed by

ministries supported by a majority in the legislature is decisively encouraging. As regards the remaining Provinces, the statements of responsible leaders of the majority party have emphasized how short-sighted any attack on those interests would be from the point of view of that party itself and how improbable it is. What I am concerned to make clear is that without any threat to those interests, or any sacrifice of them, a Governor and his ministers can, in my judgment, hope, within the provisions of the Act, to operate the Constitution in the normal manner which the Act envisages, and to avoid, save in circumstances which I find it not easy to contemplate, fundamental differences of opinion such as to endanger the relation between the Governor and his ministry in that very limited area in which certain special obligations and responsibilities are imposed upon a Governor.

Let me review what I have said. The position is as follows :—

The executive authority of a Province runs in the name of the Governor: but in the ministerial field the Governor, subject to the qualifications already mentioned, is bound to exercise that executive authority on the advice of his ministers. There are certain strictly limited and clearly defined areas in which, while here as elsewhere primarily responsibility rests with ministers, the Governor remains ultimately responsible to Parliament. Over the whole of the remainder of the field ministers are solely responsible, and they are answerable only to the provincial legislature. In the discharge of the Governor's special responsibilities it is open to the Governor, and it is indeed incumbent upon him, to act otherwise than on the advice of his ministers if he considers that the action they propose will prejudice minorities or areas or other interests affected. The decision in such cases will rest with the Governor; and he will be responsible to Parliament for taking it. But the scope of such potential interference is strictly defined—and there is no foundation for any suggestion that a Governor is free, or is entitled, or would have the power, to interfere with the day-to-day administration of a Province outside the limited range of the responsibilities specially confined to him. Before taking a decision against the advice of his ministers even within that limited range a Governor will spare no pains to make clear to his ministers the reasons which have weighed with him in thinking both that the decision is one which it is incumbent on him to take, and that it is the right one. He will put them in possession of his mind. He will listen to the arguments they address to him. He will reach his decision with full understanding of those arguments and with a mind open to conviction. In such circumstances, given the goodwill which we can I trust postulate on both sides, and for which I can on behalf of His Majesty's Government answer so far as Governors are concerned, conflicts need not in a normal situation be anticipated. On the matter of degree a convention which would require the automatic dismissal or resignation of a ministry whenever there is any difference of opinion, however unimportant, would show a lack of proportion, and I need not now emphasize the objections to any such convention. For it goes without saying that cases of quite minor

importance may arise within the area under discussion ; and it goes without saying equally that government, and the position of ministers, would be impossible if on each such occasion a Governor were required by a binding convention to dismiss his ministers, or the ministers felt it incumbent on them to resign. The interruption to administration and the loss of credit to ministers would be intolerable. All the more so since ministers would feel compelled to resign on account of a decision for which they were not in any way responsible and on which they would be at liberty to indicate publicly that they differed from the Governor who had, in the discharge of his own responsibilities, chosen to take a particular course. It is not by rigid conventions of this nature, but by give and take, by the elasticity which is the governing factor of any successful democratic Constitution, that constitutional advance is shown by the experience of history to proceed.

Where on the other hand a really major issue is involved and ministers, even though they are not responsible for the final decision taken by a Governor, and can without any constitutional impropriety make that clear, feel that such action has raised issues of such a character, and affected their position as a parliamentary party, in such a way that they can no longer, without misunderstanding in the country, associate themselves with the Governor in the work of Administration, then it is open to ministers to resign. Or, if they do not resign and the Governor feels that his partnership with them cannot with profit to the public continue, it is open to a Governor, and indeed incumbent on him to dismiss them. But the object of Governors, and, I feel confident, the object of the ministers, will at all times be to avoid such a state of things arising. The mere fact that the Government of India Act covers contingencies such as the dismissal of ministers, the breakdown of the Constitution, or the like, is not for one moment to be taken as involving an assumption that the framers of the Act, those concerned with its administration, or anyone, indeed, who is concerned for the constitutional progress and development of this great country, wishes to see those contingencies turned into realities. The design of Parliament, and the object of those of us who are the servants of the Crown in India and to whom it falls to work the provisions of the Act, must be and is to ensure the utmost degree practicable of harmonious co-operation with the elected representatives of the people for the betterment and improvement of each individual Province, and of India as a whole ; and to avoid, in every way consistent with the special responsibilities for minorities and the like which the Act imposes, any such clash of opinion as would be calculated unnecessarily to break down the machine of government, or to result in a severance of that fruitful partnership between the Governor and his ministers which is the basis of the Act, and the ideal the achievement of which the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, and the provincial Governors are all equally concerned to secure.

Before I take leave of you I feel that you would wish me, setting aside all technicalities, to speak to you for a moment or two as one who has had a good deal of parliamentary experience and some share in the shaping of the new Constitution. Some of you,

I know, hold, and hold strongly, that the plan of reform does not go sufficiently far in the direction of complete self-government. I do not question the sincerity with which that view is held. But I am certain that every responsible person, in deciding his position on this vital matter, does so with a genuine anxiety in the best interests of India to take a balanced view, and to reach a right decision as to what may best be done, in the conditions of this time, to serve those interests. Let me at once assure you that in my best judgment, and given goodwill on all sides, this Constitution will work and that in experience it will be found to work well. It stands now as the law of the land. It stands, too,—and despite all the criticism that has been levelled against it—as the only complete and homogeneous scheme of political reform now before the country. I am convinced that the shortest road to that fuller political life which many of you so greatly desire is to accept this Constitution, and to work it for all it is worth. Of their nature, politics are ever dynamic, and to imagine that their expression in terms of a written Constitution can render them static would be utterly to disregard the lessons of history and indeed the dictates of commonsense.

Again, it is my firm conviction that this Constitution will be found to offer immense opportunities for beneficent public services. And in this connection, I may venture a word upon a matter very close to my heart. It is my conviction that in the full working and development of this Constitution lies the best hope for that general and lasting amelioration in the condition of the rural population and of the humbler sections of society which all of us so ardently desire.

The discussions and debates of the last two months have, I think, placed before you every argument and point of view that bear upon this issue. The choice, a choice fraught with so much of profound significance for the future of India, must shortly be made. I hope with all my heart that all, whether leaders or their followers, may find it their duty to choose the way of constructive effort. Whatever emerges, you may count upon me, in face even of bitter disappointment, to strive untiringly towards the full and final establishment in India of the principles of parliamentary Government. But if what I should regard as a deplorable outcome should emerge from the present situation and if parliamentary and responsible Government should as a consequence be suspended in a number of Provinces, it might, however much we might all of us regret it, be beyond the power of any of us rapidly to reverse the circumstances that must then supervene. In that event, invaluable time will be lost, and I greatly fear, no little hurt inflicted upon the cause of progressive reform. But I do not believe that these sad things will come to pass, for I have faith in you and in the destiny of India. The way we tread may seem dark and sometimes difficult. The star that guides our course may seem sometimes to flicker and almost to fail. Yet faith and courage are mighty forces. Let us summon them to our aid in this difficult hour, and together move steadily forward towards the fulfilment of our hopes."

2. "MY SCHOOL EXPERIENCES"

"I was pretty far up the school at Eton before I saw my first motor-car. You begin to realise now, don't you, what an ancient fellow I am," Lord Linlithgow tells the boys of the Bishop Cotton School, Simla, at the prize-giving ceremony on September 4, 1937. **Sept. 1937**

From homely talk he passes on to the serious topic of his previous address at the school and tells them what "we old gentlemen" could do for them and what they must do for themselves. For, "no amount of advice can take the place of experience." Text of the speech :—

"You will perhaps remember, those of you who were present this time last year, that I said a few words to you about Truth, and about the great importance of cultivating the habit of truth. I spoke to you of the power and influence for good that comes to those who hold to truth, and I told you that in your search after truth you must expect to meet with many difficulties, many set-backs and not a few disappointments, but that you were not to be dispirited, but were to remember that none of us in this world can hope to attain to perfection in anything.

I wonder if, when those of us who are grown up and who indeed are rapidly graduating for the honourable designation of 'old gentleman' come down to the school to talk to you, it ever occurs to you to ask yourselves what it feels like to be the speaker? Do you—for example—think of us elderly folk as having forgotten what it was like to be your age? Well, don't you believe that. I can remember my first day at school as though it was yesterday—my mother leaving me at the turnstile gate, and the anxiety and loneliness of the first night in the big dormitory. I can recall, I think, all the outstanding incidents of my school experiences with the same clearness that you remember the doings of last term at Bishop Cotton. Perhaps, 40 years ago, our ideas were a little different from yours. No one had even heard of an aeroplane, and I was pretty far up the school at Eton before I saw my first motor-car. You begin to realise now, don't you, what an ancient fellow I am. But I don't think our hopes and fears and pleasures and difficulties were at all different from your own. So you see, we have very much in common, you and I; and as I look at you sitting in this room, and as in my mind's eye I see that other boy, which was I, it comes to me very plainly that there isn't a halfpenny of difference between us. Now that makes a good start for a chat together, doesn't it? But remember that now it's you who are the old gentleman standing on this platform, while the boy sitting in your chair is the youthful I. And I am wondering to myself what on earth you are going to say next. I am hoping in a far away sort of fashion that you aren't going to give us a pie-jaw. Last year you handed me out something uncommon like one and I am full of gloomy apprehensions. Mind you, I don't really care two hoots what you say, because I know that though you may do your worst, I shall get my tea, and a good one, at five o'clock. But as I've got to sit here, couldn't you say something that will help me, you who must have

been through a good spot of bother in your time, what with one thing and another ?

Well, if I occupy your place much longer, you will find me eating your tea, a thing past a joke, you'll agree. So let's change places again, and let me try and say a helpful word or two, and I promise you they will be few.

When last year, I told you of the difficulty of holding to truth, I was thinking not of your difficulties about which you alone know, but of my own. And the first point I want you to get hold of is that things like that don't get easier as one grows old. Sometimes they grow harder. If we are going to be worth our salt, we must try and improve. Nothing that lives stands still. It either waxes or it wanes. And we ourselves either move progressively towards such fulfilment as we are capable of, or we suffer the tide to turn, and move backwards towards failure and towards the betrayal of our true selves. And here is what you at your age had better grasp : That you have no time to waste, and that the effort to improve will grow harder and not easier, the older you grow. Don't be afraid to fly the flag of your ambitions and of your ideals at the very top of the mast. Your performance will not climb as high as your ideal. But if you try to hide the gap between what you would like to be and what you are, by lowering your ideals just a little bit, you take it from me that your performance too will come down with a run, and the gap between aim and achievement become wider than ever.

Mind you, we old gentlemen can't do very much for you, try as we may. The reason is that no amount of advice can take the place of experience. That I see more plainly every day I live. But at least we can help you to interpret and to make the best of experience. I think too that we can sometimes help you to learn from the first lesson that experience gives you instead of having to suffer a long series of misfortunes before you take the hint.

I hope you will think it worth while to try hard at all the things you do, whether work or play, and to be of those who do as much as they can, instead of doing so little as they need. You will get far more fun out of life if you live it in that spirit and you will be of much greater help to your fellowmen and to your country."

3. TO AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES—GREETINGS !

In every province of India ministries enjoying the support of the legislature were now established in office. The provinces were set upon their own courses and Lord Linlithgow proposed to send to them on behalf of himself and the Central Legislature " a message of cordial goodwill." **Sept. 13, 1937**

The full practical consequences of the enfranchisement for the first time of very large sections of the community, he suggested, " will not be discernible for many years to come." It was a matter of profound satisfaction to him that they should witness the establishment in India, upon foundations patiently prepared, of a new and vigorous system of parliamentary government—at a time when political liberty was being ruthlessly curtailed over wide areas of the world.

He looked forward to the early establishment of federation. It was of the utmost importance to the maintenance of the unity of India, and to the commercial and industrial development of the subcontinent as a whole that the States and British India should be early joined in constitutional relationship in the federal sphere.

Text of address to the Members of both Houses of the Indian Legislature on September 13, 1937:—

" It is a great pleasure to me to see you today and again to extend my greetings to you and to the distinguished Presidents of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly. The year which has passed since I last addressed the combined Legislature has been marked by many developments, political and other, of great significance, and of great importance to India as a whole. Of these developments by far the most important is the great constitutional change which took place in the relation of the Centre to the Provinces and in the position of those Provinces on the 1st of April with the introduction of Provincial Autonomy.

Let me touch briefly on certain questions of immediate importance or interest to the Central Legislature.

The problem of middle class unemployment is, in present constitutional conditions, one primarily for Provincial Governments. My Government has however been in close contact with the various Provincial Governments with a view to following up the suggestions made by the Sapru Committee, including the obtaining of statistics of unemployment, the maintenance of employment records, the subsidising of medical practitioners in rural areas, the provision of facilities for secretarial training at the University stage, and the arrangements for recruitment to certain governmental services and posts. Any assistance which my Government can properly lend to the solution of this most important problem will most readily be given.

In the field of rural development, there have, since I last addressed you, been developments of much importance. Reports of great value have been received from Sir John Russell and Dr. Wright,

and will shortly be published.* The Jute Committee established last year has held two meetings ; a number of schemes have already been taken up ; and with the establishment by next year of a Jute Technological Institute and of a Jute Research Station at Dacca, the work will be in full progress both on the agricultural and on the technological sides. The Imperial Institute of Sugar Technology started its operations in October of last year, and I am confident that it can be relied upon to produce results of real and immediate value. In the sphere of marketing, a Wheat Report has already been published and a Cold Storage Survey Report will be published in the very near future. I would like to take the opportunity to refer to the valuable contribution to marketing improvement made by the Central Legislature by the Agricultural Produce Grading and Marketing Act which was passed in February of this year. Steps have been taken to arrange for an enquiry into the possibilities of extending cinchona cultivation in this country with the object of meeting from our own resources the very large demands with which we are annually confronted for quinine.

The results of the appeal which I made last year for donations for the purchase of bulls have been most encouraging, and it is a source of keen personal satisfaction to me that so great an interest in this all-important question should have been manifested throughout India. Let me add with what satisfaction I have also learnt of the response to the appeal which I made at an earlier stage for co-operation in the eradication of the cruel and wasteful practice known as *Phooka*. I am glad to be able to announce that my Government, with a view to providing an added stimulus to the interest which has now been evinced in improving cattle-breeding, have contributed a sum of Rs. 25,000 towards the cost of a Cattle Show which will be held in Delhi in February next in connection with the Annual Horse Show held under the auspices of the National Horse-Breeding Society.

Since I returned to India in April of last year I have been at pains to make myself familiar with the position in regard to archæological research, and the preservation of ancient monuments in this country. The question is at present under review of how best to further these important objects within the inevitably limited funds available. The monuments of antiquity, eloquent witnesses to the historical and cultural achievements of this great country, constitute a heritage of incalculable value and significance which it must be our privilege to guard and to hand down to posterity.

I have already announced my decision to extend the period of the life of the present Legislative Assembly. This is an appropriate occasion on which to intimate that the date to which I contemplate its extension is the 1st of October 1938.

The disturbances in Waziristan have been a source of much anxiety to my Government during the last few months, and they have

* The Russell Report was published on October 7, 1937, and the Wright Report on September 22, 1937. Please see page 78, "Indian Information," October 15, 1937, and page 39, "Indian Information," September 30, 1937.

resulted in heavy expenditure. I am glad to say that there are now distinct signs of a settlement, and of the acceptance by the tribes of the very moderate terms which have been imposed upon them. And it is my earnest hope that, thanks to the operations of the last few months, the foundation has been laid, of a greater measure of stability in this difficult and disturbed area.

In consultation with the Commander-in-Chief, I have been giving the closest consideration to the question of Army organization and the re-equipment of the Army in India so as to maintain its efficiency at the highest possible pitch having regard to recent developments elsewhere in the matter of mechanisation, and the like. The expenditure involved is inevitably considerable. I have caused representations to be made in the matter to His Majesty's Government for assistance in carrying out the reorganisation owing to the very heavy cost involved, and it is my hope that we shall receive a favourable reply.

The valuable recommendations made by the Wedgwood Committee are, as you are aware, under examination.* I have watched with close attention the railway returns during the last year, for there is no surer barometer of the prosperity of a country. Nothing, I am glad to say, could have been more encouraging than those returns up to the present date. The revised estimates submitted to the Legislature in February for the year 1936-37 anticipated a surplus after meeting all obligations of Rs. 15 lakhs. The final figures show in fact a surplus of about Rs. 120 lakhs, and, thanks to a substantial decrease in working expenses, the year 1936-37 shows a net betterment of over five crores. I am not without hope, dangerous as it is to speculate in a matter of this nature, that that figure will be maintained, and indeed materially enhanced, during the current year, for the approximate earnings up to the end of August are some Rs. 2.75 crores better than over the same period of the previous year.

I cannot pass from this subject without a reference to the disaster which occurred at Bihta in July. We all know how heavy was the loss of life and how long the list of casualties in that disaster. I am glad to think that this shocking accident should be so wholly exceptional in character; and that during the five years ending March, 1936, the average number of persons killed in India per annum in collisions or derailments of trains should have been no more than 11, a figure of great significance when it is remembered that during each year 525 million passengers are carried, and 125 million train miles run.

My personal concern for the improvement of conditions in the rural areas has always been close and immediate; but I would not have you think that because of that I am in any way indifferent to the claims of industry or in any way oblivious of the vital importance to the future of this country of lending all aid that properly can be

* The Indian Railway Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Ralph L. Wedgwood examined the position of Indian State-owned railways and suggested measures to secure an improvement in net earnings and to place railway finances on a sound and remunerative basis. Its Report was published on June 28, 1937.

lent to the development of industries. Here again the matters involved are now in a very considerable degree matters for Provincial Governments ; but I have taken pains to ensure that all such action shall be taken as can appropriately be taken by the Central Government for the encouragement and the development of industries. In particular I would refer to the work of the Industrial Research Organization. That organization is now in its third year. It has, I am satisfied, proved its utility beyond any question, and my Government will in due course recommend to you that it should be placed on a permanent footing from the beginning of the next financial year. Another aspect of this matter which is of substantial importance, but which equally must depend to a very large extent, if not entirely, on provincial co-operation is the question of industrial surveys. That question was considered both by the last Industries Conference and by the Industrial Research Council at their meeting in July, and it is being actively pursued. I need not stress the direct relation of investigations such as these, and of the development of industry as a whole, to the problem of middle-class unemployment. The next Industries Conference which will be held at Lahore in December will be asked to consider the question of training and assisting young men to start and conduct small industrial enterprises.

I referred in my speech last year to the position and the difficulties of Indians overseas. No one is more conscious than I am of the keen interest with which this question is watched by Indian public opinion, or of the close attention which has always been paid to it by the Indian Legislature. The past year has not been free from questions of considerable difficulty and complexity. Those questions are by no means yet in all cases finally resolved, but in any area in which they arise, the Government of India are in the closest touch with the situation. The most important of these questions, and the only one to which I propose to refer today, is that of Zanzibar. In the case of Zanzibar I will only say that in my judgment the scheme now proposed, while I am well aware that in certain respects it has fallen short of the expectations and of the demands of Indians in Zanzibar, holds out very definite possibilities and very definite advantages ; and I would make an appeal to those concerned that it should be given a fair trial. It is my own belief and my earnest trust that with the co-operation of the Zanzibar Indians it should prove of definite benefit to those concerned.

When I last addressed you, India stood upon the verge of constitutional changes the profound significance of which it is not possible to overstate. I ventured then to say to you that we could hardly hope to compass the developments at that time imminent without some difficulty and some degree of anxiety. Since the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy on the 1st of April of this year, the course of political events has varied between Province and Province, a tendency which we may be sure is destined—having regard to the differing conditions obtaining in the various Provinces—to become more marked as time goes on.

To one feature of the elections, common to every Province, I feel I must refer. The smoothness with which arrangements were carried out for polling nearly 35 million people, over vast tracts of country, and in areas in which frequently communications were difficult to a degree, left nothing to be desired ; and the first evidence of the solid interest of that immense electorate in the political problems confronting the new India, of its discipline and its self-restraint, was given by the orderly manner in which the process of polling was effected. Nothing could have been a greater tribute to the electorate and to those responsible for the organization of the elections.

Speaking now within six months of the launching of this great experiment, it would plainly be premature to attempt any detailed appraisement of the working of the scheme of reforms. Indeed when it is remembered that we are witnessing changes which include the enfranchisement for the first time of very large sections of the community, we may be sure that the full political consequences of these changes will not be discernible for many years to come. Meantime it is enough to claim that together we have overcome at least the most serious of the difficulties that have so far confronted us. By the early days of August there were established in office in every Province of India Ministries enjoying the support of a majority of their respective Legislatures. The decision which has brought about this happy position does high credit to all concerned. One of the great turning points of our political history has been successfully negotiated, and we face now a future that in my judgment is full of promise. I have entire confidence that Ministers in every Province will find in the Public Services a body of men willing and anxious to support their political chiefs by every proper means in their power, and zealous, under the direction of responsible Ministers, to continue to the best of their ability to serve their several Provinces. Nor do I doubt that Ministers will at all times be found ready to protect the just rights and interests of every servant of Government. There can be no stronger bond of mutual regard and understanding than that of labours shared—of constructive work done together. It is in this field of common aspirations and common endeavour that we see exemplified the first fruits of that new relationship which it is the prime purpose of the Constitution to establish and to foster.

The Provinces are now set upon their own courses, and the extent to which this Legislature and the Central Government are concerned with their affairs is very precisely conditioned by the terms of the Constitution Act. But it will not, I think, be held inappropriate that—with, I am confident, the whole-hearted support of all those who are present today—I should send to those Provincial Governments a message of cordial goodwill and of encouragement in confronting the many problems that lie before them.

I turn now to the next and final stage in the Constitutional Reforms, the introduction of the Federation of India. Since last I addressed you, my representatives have toured the States and held discussions with the Ruling Princes and their Ministers ; and replies

from almost every State to my letter of enquiry of last August have been received, expressing their views on the matters connected with Federation in which they are particularly interested. The work of collating and analysing these voluminous replies is nearing completion, and after decisions have been taken on the many difficult and complicated questions of policy arising therefrom, a process now far advanced, it will be possible to enter on the next phase of the programme, namely, that of placing the complete and final picture before the Ruling Princes and then formally addressing them in regard to their accession.

I am well aware that the scheme of Federation laid down in the Constitution Act gives rise in some quarters to doubts and criticism. I have done my best to make myself familiar with the nature of that criticism and I think I can say with complete truth that everyone of the grounds upon which it is levelled was before my colleagues and myself upon the Committee of Parliament at the time we made our recommendations. We saw clearly the difficulties of setting up a Federation composed of disparate units, and we were fully seized of the implications that must follow an arrangement of that kind. We were conscious as well of many other difficulties. Nevertheless, upon the best judgment of which we were capable there were two considerations which in our view must be held to outweigh all others. The first, that the early establishment of a constitutional relationship within the federal sphere between the States and British India is of the utmost importance from the standpoint of the maintenance of the unity of India ; the second, that the existence of a Central Government capable of formulating economic policies affecting the interests of the sub-Continent as a whole is of direct and immediate relevance to the economic circumstances of the India of today.

With regard to the first of these considerations, I will only say that, while no one, so far as I am aware, is disposed to question the strong desirability of achieving a Federation of India at the earliest moment possible, the anomalies to which I have referred are the necessary and inescapable incidents, not merely of the introduction of an all-India Federation at this moment ; but of its introduction at any time within the measurable future.

To the economic aspect of this question, too little attention has, in my opinion, been given. The commercial and industrial development of the sub-Continent stand now at a point where progress is in many respects definitely prejudiced by the absence of uniformity at present existing in, for example, Company Law, Banking Law, the Law of Copyright and Trademarks, and the like. Again, it is most desirable that there should be established without delay over the whole fiscal field the greatest possible degree of unity and uniformity. It goes without saying that, from the standpoint of British India as well as of the Indian States, substantial advantage is likely to result from the establishment of a system under which tariff policies which affect every part of India should no longer fall to be constructed by a Central Government in whose counsels, for historical and constitutional reasons, wide areas of India at the moment enjoy no direct representation.

And I am myself confident that the achievement of Federation will presage an early and substantial modification of those disparate conditions the existence of which today, unavoidable, for the reasons I have mentioned, as it may be, tends in so many ways to hamper the growth of trade and commerce and the full development of our natural resources.

Finally, let me say that I hold it as a matter for profound satisfaction that at a time when, over wide areas of the world, political liberty is being increasingly curtailed, we should witness in India the establishment, upon foundations patiently prepared, of a new and vigorous system of parliamentary government. Differences of opinion there may be upon the merits of this or that provision of the new Constitution. Yet I cannot but think that we shall be wise, in the circumstances of the world today, to make a supreme effort to concentrate our gaze rather upon points of agreement and of common interest than upon those things in which complete accord is yet to be reached. We have many things in common that are infinitely precious to both peoples ; and many of those things are in grave jeopardy today. We love peace, and peace is threatened over half the world. Violence we both abhor, and the rule of force is in evidence in three continents. To democratic principles of government both countries are deeply attached, and those principles are, at this time, under question and even challenge in wide regions of the world. The regimentation of the human mind proceeds apace, freedom of opinion is systematically suppressed, and the right of the individual to live as he wills in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the family circle is a thing denied to half mankind. It is a common affection for these things, today in dire peril of destruction—a common determination to protect the elementary decencies of human life upon this planet—that holds together the people of the British Commonwealth of Nations in loyalty to the British Crown. I believe with every fibre of my mind that India at heart is loyal to those same ideals, and that her highest destiny lies within that brave sisterhood of States which stands today as a bulwark against forces that threaten the very soul of man."

4. INDIANISATION OF THE ARMY

Lord Linlithgow tries to remove the apprehensions in regard to the Indianization of the commissioned rank of the army in replying to an address of welcome from the Provincial and Lahore District Soldiers' Board on October 22, 1937 at Lahore. Addresses were presented on the occasion also by the Lahore District Board, the Northern India Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Punjab Co-operative Union. Extract from the reply to the address from the Soldiers' Board :— **Oct. 22 1937**

"Wherever I have gone in the Punjab,—Ludhiana, Jullundur, Sialkot, Rohtak,—I have asked that I should be given the opportunity of meeting ex-military officers and ex-soldiers from the surrounding villages. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than those meetings, and no one when he meets the ex-officer and the ex-soldier, when he sees

the campaign medals and the decorations carried by them, can fail to be impressed by the wide area over which the Punjab soldier has earned distinction; by the record of service of these men; by their independent and manly bearing, and by the obvious fact that they are part and parcel of this great Province. The contribution—almost half a million men—made during the War by the Punjab is historic; and the great name which in the War her soldiers won for themselves and for their Province added lustre to a tradition already eminent and long established.

The address to which I have listened has touched on one point to which I attach much importance, and that is the employment of ex-soldiers. The Indian Soldiers' Board take, I know, a great interest in this matter and so, too, do the Punjab Government. I understand that some three years ago the whole question was re-examined by the then Government, and that instructions were issued to Departments and District Officers to ensure the maximum amount of employment of ex-soldiers in appointments suitable for them. And I am told that a recent examination of the working of the scheme has satisfied the Provincial Soldiers' Board that it is on a sound and successful basis. I am happy to think that this should be the case; and wherever I have been in the Punjab I have been glad to find ex-military officers rendering service to the civil administration as Honorary Magistrates, Sub-Registrars, Panchayat Officers, Zaildars, and the like. I am confident that this combination of military and civil experience is of the utmost value to the Province.

I fully recognise the interest which you take in the Indianisation of the Army, and in the method of appointment to commissioned rank; and I appreciate the nature and the basis of the apprehensions to which you have referred. I think you will agree with me that the rights of the enlisted classes have been not ungenerously recognised in this matter of commissions, and as you will remember half the commissions annually granted are reserved for them. These Army cadetships are within the grasp of any enlisted soldier, and as you know, the most promising candidates are sent to the Kitchener College at Nowgong where they are educated free of all charge up to the standards required by the Indian Military Academy, through which equally those selected pass free of all charge. For those, too, who succeed in passing into the Indian Military Academy by the channel of open competition, many scholarships are available, and they are in fact generously helped both by the scholarships supplied by the various Provinces and by the remission of fees at the expense of Government. As regards pre-military education, to which you rightly attach so much importance, excellent Indian Military schools exist at Jhelum and Jullundur: the cost to the parent for boys in those schools amounts, I understand, to no more than Rs. 7-8-0 a month, and in addition numerous scholarships, financed either by Government or from regimental sources, are available to boys at those schools. But I readily recognise the pressure on the available vacancies, and I have every sympathy with your desire that the soldier's child should have the

fullest opportunity to take advantage of those educational facilities the existence and the use of which is of such material importance today.

I am fully alive to your desire that the ex-officer and ex-soldier should be given in his retirement the chance further to serve the State in a civil capacity; I am glad to think that much has already been done in this direction and to hear your recognition of the sympathetic attitude which has been adopted in relation to it.

I was particularly interested to hear from His Excellency the Governor of the grant recently sanctioned by the Indian Soldiers' Board for expenditure on development schemes in military villages. I understand that Rs. 11,500 has been granted for the current year, and that Rs. 10,000 has been promised in each of the next two years for this purpose. As I understand it, the general effect is that grants within the limit of the total sum available are made to carefully selected villages with outstanding war records, and that the grant is on a contributory basis of not less than one-third, and is assigned to some local work of utility such as the consolidation of holdings, the improvement of water-supply, the establishment of girls' schools, or the like. This is a scheme which, in my judgment, has very important possibilities, and I have asked to be kept in touch with its development."

5. CO-OPERATION IN COMMON GOOD

Extract from reply to an address of welcome from the Punjab Co-operative Union at Lahore on October 22, 1937. **Oct. 22 1937**

"I am very glad to see you here today and I am grateful to you for the kind words you have said about me. The constitution and the working of your Union well illustrate the happy results which flow from the co-operation of officials and non-officials for the common good; and I listened with the deepest interest to the lucid and informed statement of the activities of your Union contained in your Address. I am heartily with you in your anxiety to develop and consolidate the public-spirited work of which you have given me an account: and I am sure that the pursuit of that work in the manner you have described, and on that non-communal and non-partisan basis which is so essential to the character and the success of the movement, will continue to earn you in a high degree the respect and the gratitude of all responsible opinion in the Punjab.

The main function of the Co-operative Movement must be for many years to come the provision of productive credit. I am glad to note the success which in the Punjab it has achieved in the reduction of debt. The agricultural depression placed, as I am well aware, a severe strain on co-operative resources; and it is a matter for real congratulation that in your Province the Movement should have weathered the storm even though in certain districts the effects of it may still be evident. It is in my judgment of fundamental importance that whether a member of the Society is able immediately

to repay his debt or not, he should be loyal to the body to which he belongs, and that he should not lose the will to pay. One of the lessons which we learnt from the economic crisis was the evil of excessive credit; and I feel confident that your Union, while continuing to serve legitimate needs so far as possible, will insist in your transactions on the elementary principles of thrift and the discouragement of extravagance.

Co-operation is not merely a credit machine. If it were, it would soon cease to be a regenerating force. Fortunately it has many other activities. I need only refer to consolidation of holdings, to cattle breeding, to better living societies. I have, as you mention, myself had the pleasure of inspecting consolidated villages in Jullundur and Ludhiana, where I also had the opportunity of examining the affairs of a village co-operative society. Consolidation opens out the way to many improvements which are not necessarily co-operative—the sinking of wells, the use of better seed, the introduction of improved methods of agriculture, the development of facilities for recreation, and in general a healthy pride in the progress of the village. I have heard it said indeed that consolidation is the real foundation of rural uplift; and I am glad to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the pioneer work of the Co-operative Department, work with which the name of Mr. Calvert will long be associated. You referred in your address to better living societies. I am delighted to hear of the progress which has been made in this respect, and of the large number of members now enrolled in those societies and I would like to take the opportunity to emphasize the wide field which they cover and the opportunities they give of contact with officers of other departments, of developing the missionary spirit of enthusiasm and of spreading the gospel of self-help. Let me say too how much I welcome the good work which has been done in cattle breeding, in which the record of the Punjab is outstanding: and let me finally thank you, on behalf of my wife, for the samples of the work of the industrial societies which you have been so kind as to present to her, and which I can assure you that both she and I deeply appreciate. There is much to be done in connection with village industries; while I am aware of the difficulties, I am also alive to the possibilities; and the extent of the progress which has been made in this regard in the Punjab is encouraging indeed.

I have noted your desire for greater assistance from Government. Let me say on that that I cannot conceive any government in the Punjab failing to give their active sympathy and practical help to the Co-operative Movement, least of all the present Ministry who have made it very clear indeed that their policy is to promote in every way the well-being of the people."

6. LANDED GENTRY OF THE PUNJAB

Lord Linlithgow congratulates the landed gentry of the Punjab on their realist and understanding approach to the question of the relation of the landowner and the tenant, at a garden party at Lahore on October 23, 1937: **Oct. 23, 1937**

"You are, I think, well aware of the close personal interest which I, a land-owner myself, have taken in the welfare of the countryside, in the prosperity and the development of agriculture, in the introduction of modern improvements, and in the development in every way of all that can promote the health, happiness, and prosperity of the rural population. You know too, I think, the extent to which I have been concerned to familiarise myself with the condition of the land-owner, the tenant, and the agricultural labourer throughout India, and the particular interest which I have in that problem in the Punjab, where the small holder is so substantial and important an element in the countryside. It is a source of particular satisfaction to me in these circumstances to have the pleasure of meeting you today and to receive the message of welcome which you have been good enough to extend to me.

In your remarks you have given prominence to the Indianisation of the Army and the future policy of Government in this regard, and it is appropriate that before passing to other matters I should deal with one which is of special significance and importance in the Punjab. The military record of the Punjab is one of exceptional distinction, and I am well aware of the splendid tradition of military service which is the heritage of so many families all over the Province. It is not unnatural in these circumstances that you, Gentlemen, representing as you do the landed gentry of the Punjab, should be closely and immediately interested in this problem. I have listened with close and sympathetic attention to your remarks regarding it and I will not fail to bear in mind what you say. I recognise the force of your observations on the effect of the policy of Indianisation on the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers. But you will, I think, agree with me that the reduction in the number of the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers has not gone very far, and you will share my view, too, that the fact that half the Officer's Commissions are reserved for the enlisted classes is a consideration which must be borne in mind in considering this matter, as must also the creation of Warrant Officer's rank. I appreciate your feeling on the system of short service. But the system of short service is a system to which, on the best advice available to me, I see no alternative if those reserves are to be provided without which a modern Army cannot for long keep the field.

Let me congratulate you on the realist and understanding spirit with which you approach this question of the relation of the land-owner and the tenant, and on the progressive attitude which you have adopted in this matter. It is of vital importance to the establishment and the maintenance of friendly relations between landlord and tenant, with all the beneficial results which flow from that relationship when it is well adjusted and a happy one, that justice and sympathy should inform the attitude of the land-owner, and that he should be concerned

to do all that is in his power to promote the introduction of progressive methods on his estates. And it is a source of real satisfaction to me to find so ready and so warm a recognition of this fact on the part of gentlemen who represent so considerable a stake in the country. I welcome, too, the reference which you have made to the fact that it is the policy of your present Ministry to promote this spirit, and I note your public-spirited readiness to bear your fair share of any additional burdens which the general good of the agricultural classes may demand.

I listened with close interest to the tribute which you have paid to the work of the present Punjab Ministry, a tribute I am sure from all that I have seen of its activities, which could not have been better earned.

I welcome too, and I thank you for, the cordial assurance which you have given me that the Punjab will acquit itself as worthily under the new Constitution as it has in the past; and I recognise to the full the immense importance to a Ministry of the confidence, the co-operation, and the assistance of the landed interests in a Province.

In the remarks which you have just addressed to me you touched on the delicate and difficult question of communal strife. I am well aware of the efforts which are being made in this Province, not only by the Ministry but by the leaders of parties, and by men of standing and weight in all communities, to dissipate misunderstandings and to bring about an atmosphere of harmony and sympathy between the various great communities. It is of the utmost importance to the future of the Punjab, and to the future of India, that such misunderstandings and difficulties, resulting, as they not infrequently have in the past, in disturbance, in bloodshed, and in an absence of that mutual confidence which is so essential to the progress and the development of a Province, should be removed without delay. The efforts to which you have referred which are being made in this direction have my warmest and most cordial support, and I trust sincerely that they will meet with the response and the reward which they so richly deserve."

7. THE LAND OF FIVE RIVERS

Oct. 23, 1937

"The Punjab enjoys a heritage of incalculable value in things material; in the field of constitutional and political progress, it has a record of marked distinction." But, says Lord Linlithgow, there is "no aspect of the work of ministers and of the leaders of all political parties" to which he attaches more importance than to the promotion of harmony and concord between communities and classes.

Extract from a speech at a darbar in the Fort at Lahore held on October 23, 1937 in accordance with "time-honoured and long-established custom" to meet representatives of the province:

"There is no part of the Punjab, no class and no religion, which has not its representative here today—Pathans, Baluchis, Punjabi Muhammadans of the North and South-West, Sikhs of the Central Districts, Rajputs, Dogras, and Jats of the South-East; each one of you representing areas, and belonging to classes and communities, with a stirring history of their own; united by the common bond of the

British Crown, and characterised without exception by their steadfast and long-established loyalty to the Throne and Person of the King-Emperor. I am glad, too, in this Province, the martial traditions of which are so famous, to see among you today many who, after distinguished careers in the Indian Army, are now taking their part in the civil administration of the country. I need refer in no detail to the outstanding services rendered by the Punjab during the war. We all know how prompt and how wide was the response to the call to arms. We all know, too, the widely scattered theatres in which Punjabi soldiers, representing those martial traditions which are the birthright of all communities in the Province—Muhammadans, Hindus, Sikhs—served during the War. Their deeds and their records are written large in France, in Gallipoli, in Palestine, in Egypt, in East Africa; 400,000 recruits left the Punjab during the critical epoch—no fewer than 37,000 of them destined never to return. To those who fell I take this opportunity to pay a tribute of respect and gratitude; those who returned and who are with us today, returned with a broadened vision, and with the consciousness of a great responsibility faithfully discharged in a foreign setting and in alien climate.

It is not to be wondered at that a Province geographically situated as the Punjab is, peopled by a sturdy and virile population, animated by martial traditions such as those to which I have referred, should be able to point to the distinguished record of progress in so many fields, of which it can boast today. On the material side your record, in matters of such vital importance as rural construction, the co-operative movement, the consolidation of holdings, the introduction and development of improved methods of agriculture and of animal husbandry, is one of which any Province might be proud and one, indeed, of which it is not unfair to say that in many respects the Punjab has given a lead to India. I recognise that, while great progress has been made, the very existence of that progress stimulates those who have benefited by it to seek to advance still further, and to obtain a still greater return from the natural advantages of the Province. It is a healthy sign, and an encouraging omen for the future, that that should be the case, and I am confident that you can look for all possible assistance in the development of your resources from a Ministry, broad-based in composition, and enjoying substantial support in a legislature elected on a new and eminently democratic franchise.

I have referred to the natural advantages of the Province, and I will not develop that point in any detail, for you are all well familiar with the facts. Let me however, touching for a moment on one aspect of the matter, say that no one who visits the Punjab can fail to be struck by the immense importance to it of the Five Rivers to which it owes its name, and by the great irrigation projects and colonisation schemes which are among its distinguishing features and the renown of which has spread far beyond the Punjab and, for that matter, far outside India. Those projects and those colonies are a memorial to the majestic conceptions which animated the engineers and administrators who conceived them and who brought them, with results

of such incalculable value to the Province today, to a successful issue. But, great as is the progress that has been made, and much as has been accomplished, more remains to be done, and I am glad to think that the same energy and vision which contributed in so great a degree to the development of irrigation, with its beneficent consequences, in the past, continue to manifest themselves today; that, thanks to the deliberations of the Indus Supply Committee, the Haveli project has already been started; that the new Thal project is to be framed and will be commenced, if closer investigation proves its practicability, at an early date; and that an exhaustive survey has been undertaken of the possibilities of tube-well irrigation—possibilities the importance of which I can, from my own observation elsewhere, hardly over-estimate.

Gentlemen, in things material the Punjab enjoys a heritage of incalculable value—a heritage of which it has made the most. I am glad to think that in the field of constitutional and political progress, the record of the Province should equally be one of such marked distinction. The Punjab took the fullest advantage of the constitution granted under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and in the 16 years which have elapsed since the introduction of those reforms it can point to a long and successful record of close association between the Government and the people, and to the wide resultant expansion of beneficent activities. The former Legislative Council showed, throughout the period of its existence, that marked sense of responsibility, and that readiness to face the facts of a situation, which one would expect from the representatives of a Province so well known for its commonsense and its shrewdness. Today, for the first time, responsibility for your affairs rests in the hands of a popularly elected Ministry having behind it a majority in a Legislature which has been elected on a wide franchise. Nothing has been more striking than the ease with which the transfer was made in the Punjab, in April of this year, from the diarchic Government of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to provincial autonomy. In all Provinces great powers and great opportunities have, under the new constitution, passed to popularly elected Ministers. The manner in which those powers and those opportunities are everywhere being put to use is an augury of good for the future. In the Punjab in particular nothing, if I may say so, could be more encouraging than the manner in which those powers have been exercised by your present Ministry. I have followed closely their efforts to restore and enhance the prosperity, which was interrupted by the agricultural depression—all the more closely because of my own keen personal interest in everything that can improve the conditions of the countryside and because of the fact that the Punjab is essentially a Province of small holders, whose welfare has always been a matter of particular concern to me; and in the beneficent schemes which your Government have in hand, they have my warm and cordial sympathy and support. But, in whatever Province, there is one essential condition of any real progress, and that is the existence of internal peace, the promotion of harmony and concord between communities and classes, and the elimination of internal

strife. I am well aware of the efforts which are being made by the leaders of all parties in the Punjab to bring about unity of view, and to reduce and remove the difficulties and misunderstandings which have in the past so frequently led to disturbance and even to loss of life. There is no aspect of the work of Ministers and of the leaders of all political parties in this Province to which I attach more importance. I trust sincerely that the efforts which are being made in this direction will meet with the success which they deserve."

8. PRESENTATION OF COLOURS

Speech at the presentation of colours to the 3rd Battalion of the 17th Dogra Regiment at Lahore on October 25, 1937: **Oct. 25, 1937**

"General Milward, Colonel Laird, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the 3rd Battalion of the 17th Dogra Regiment,—I regard it as a great privilege to be present here this morning and personally to present, on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the New Colours of your battalion. This ceremony has more than usual significance. You are the youngest battalion of the Dogra Regiment; your old colours which we have just seen paraded for the last time bore no battle honours. But these colours which I now present are rich in honours won in many foreign fields, in most of the spheres in which during the Great War British and Indian arms were engaged. They bear the names of battles and campaigns which will always be remembered with pride in the long and illustrious annals of the British and Indian Armies. In the years which have passed since the Battalion was raised it has acquitted itself nobly and has steadily added honour and distinction not only to its own record but also to that of the great regiment of which it is a part.

These colours are the visible embodiment of that which you treasure so carefully—the tradition of the Regiment. The added lustre of the names which the Colours now bear has been achieved by the courage, the self-sacrifice and the devotion to duty of those who went before you—in many cases probably your own fathers and relatives. The tradition is a great one—including as it does acts of gallantry which have received the highest award for valour which His Majesty can bestow. I am confident that you, the present generation, and those that follow after you will maintain the distinguished record that has been handed down to you and keep undimmed the famous name of the Battalion and the Regiment."

9. MINISTERS' DINNER

Oct. 25, 1937

"The Viceroy can have no favourite amongst the provinces of this country. I am here to serve them all and in equal degree to cherish, to the best of my opportunity, the welfare of everyone of them," remarks Lord Linlithgow in replying to the toast at the dinner given by the Ministers of the Punjab at Lahore on October 25, 1937:

"Your Excellency and Gentlemen,—I thank you most warmly, Sir Sikander, for the kind words with which you have proposed the toast of my health and you, Gentlemen, for the manner in which you have responded. I assure you that my wife and I have been deeply moved by the welcome you have given us from the first moment that we entered this famous Province. The Viceroy can have no favourite amongst the provinces of this country. I am here to serve them all and in equal degree to cherish, to the best of my opportunity, the welfare of every one of them. But it would be indeed strange if I who am at heart a man of the countryside, and of the farm, were not to feel myself at home in the Punjab and happy amongst these strong sons of hers who till her fields and tend her herds. And when I go, as dearly I like to go, to visit some village, and am received by the familiar rank of upright figures bearing upon their breasts the medals and decorations won in many a theatre of war, I think of days—now long past—in which, in the mud and chill of a Flanders winter, I first saw famous units of the Indian Army, and learned to admire the soldierly fortitude with which, under conditions and in a climate so unfamiliar to them, they answered the call of duty and most worthily maintained the splendid traditions of which they were the heirs and the guardians.

The improvement of farming is an object that must interest the townsman as closely as it touches the country man, for if we can increase the prosperity of the farmer we shall most certainly promote the expansion of every other industry and of commerce in general. There is no man or woman in this province but stands to benefit from the progress of agriculture and of animal husbandry. I am confident that the Government of the Punjab will strain every nerve to promote and to consolidate that progress. To be charged with the duties of government over a great province such as this is an honour such as any man, I care not how eminent he be, might covet. It is also a heavy burden and a very great responsibility. I have every confidence that the present Government of the Punjab, under the able and zealous leadership of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, will strive constantly to advance the highest interests of the Punjab. Sir Sikander, you have mentioned the natural and laudable desire of yourself and your colleagues to embark upon wider and therefore more costly schemes of a beneficent kind than those which are at present within the scope of your available revenues, and in this context you have referred to the disappointment that has been widely felt in the Punjab at the recommendations of Sir Otto Niemeyer. Upon that I will say no more than that, looking at this matter as I am bound to do from the angle of India as a whole, and while I

sincerely regret your disappointment, it is my firm opinion that the award of Sir Otto Niemeyer was a just award. Sir Sikander has more than hinted that the Punjab prefers cash to kind words, and if I may say so as a Scotsman, I share that sentiment. Nevertheless, I am going to say to you that I think that it may easily happen that you will find that the distribution of income-tax under Sir Otto Niemeyer's award may begin much earlier than you anticipate. As you know, in the early years of provincial autonomy the amount of income-tax to be distributed to the provinces is regulated by the amount of surplus on railway revenues, and provided there is no reversal of the present improvement in railway earnings there is a fair prospect that your province may realise a not unsubstantial amount in this very year. But I would emphasise that for this year and for some years to come such realisation depends on a continuance of the budgetary position of Railways, and for that reason I would strongly urge you to take no narrowly provincial view of problems such as the control of motor traffic and the like, which affect the fortunes of the Railways.

I have heard with the utmost satisfaction your high appreciation, an appreciation I fully share, of the services rendered to this province by your Governor, Sir Herbert Emerson; and I value very greatly this fresh proof of the excellent relations existing between the Governor and his Ministers, based as those relations are, upon a proper conception of the working of the new constitution. I am indeed happy to think, that by His Majesty's wish, Sir Herbert Emerson's services are to be at the disposal of the Punjab for a further period of time. Let me also tell you how much satisfaction I find—a satisfaction shared I know by you all—in the fact that another good Punjabi, Sir Henry Craik, is to hold the plough handle in Sir Herbert's stead while the latter enjoys a period of well-earned rest.

And now, Gentlemen, let me thank Sir Sikander most warmly for the kind reference he has made to Lady Linlithgow which I know she will greatly value. It is her hope and prayer that during the time she is in India she may in some measure succeed in promoting the welfare of the women and children of India, and in lightening the burden of pain and anguish that disease imposes."

10. A SERVANT OF THE PUBLIC

Speech at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Sir Fazl-i-Husain Memorial at Lahore on October 26, 1937: **Oct. 26, 1937**

" Your Excellency, Chaudhri Sir Shahabud-Din, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a great satisfaction to Lady Linlithgow and to me that during our visit to Lahore we should have been able to be present at this ceremony, and to take part in this practical tribute to the memory of so eminent a son of the Punjab. I had not the intimate personal knowledge of Sir Fazl-i-Husain enjoyed by so many of those present here this afternoon, nor had I the pleasure of working with him as a colleague, for he had ceased to be a Member of the Council of

the Governor-General before I assumed my present office. But I am well aware of the remarkable record of the service performed by him and of the outstanding position which he occupied in the life of this Province and in the life of the country. During the time of his public career, cut short so prematurely, he was able to perform, in disregard of his own health and moved solely by the ideal of the public good, service of real distinction; and in thinking of him today we think of a great politician, a great educationist, a great Punjabi, a great Mussalman, and, most important of all, of a great Indian. I have always been impressed by the singleness of purpose which marked Sir Fazl-i-Husain's public activity, and when I look back today over the details of the long record of his service to his Province and his country, I cannot but be reminded of the words used by a great British statesman of another famous parliamentarian, of whom he said 'He always maintained that public service was the highest career a man could take. In that belief he fitted himself for it and in that belief he worked and died.'

The removal from among us of a public man of exceptional capacity and marked personality still in the prime of life, is at any time a tragedy. The sense of loss on personal and public grounds, and the inevitable diminution of the effective influence which at all times so essentially depends on the winning personality of the individual, are keen and real. I am glad to think that the friends and admirers of Sir Fazl-i-Husain should have decided to commemorate his brave spirit, his great qualities, and his eminent services by the Memorial the foundation stone of which we lay today. No form of memorial could in my judgment have been a more fortunate one than that which they have selected. Sir Fazl-i-Husain was himself, in the first place, a great educationist; he was closely associated with this distinguished college* which during its long and honourable existence has given so many men to the public life of the Punjab, and which continues to maintain at so high a level the traditions which it has inherited. A library, too, if it is of all things a place in which the younger generation can prepare itself for the battle of life, is also essentially a place of inspiration. I am glad to think, and I feel sure that Sir Fazli-i-Husain would himself have been happy, that his name and the inspiration which it connotes should be associated with this library.

As I lay this stone, I feel confident that I express the view of all those present today and of those many friends and admirers of Sir Fazl-i-Husain who are unable to be with us, when I voice the hope that, commemorating as it does so great a personality and so great a servant of the public, this library will serve as a still further encouragement and inspiration to the members of this College, an institution which can already look back on so fine a record of service and so marked a contribution to the public good. And I feel sure that the building of which we lay the foundation stone today will not merely serve as

* The Government College, Lahore. The memorial is a library in the College precincts.

a personal memorial, but that it will prove an effective influence for good in the Province to which such devoted service was rendered throughout his life, by Sir Fazl-i-Husain."

11. BIKANER'S GLORIOUS HERITAGE

Speech at the opening of the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum at Bikaner on Nov. 5, 1937 : **Nov. 5, 1937**

"It gives me very great pleasure to perform the opening ceremony of this Museum today. A museum, enshrining as it does relics of the traditions and glories of the past to encourage and inspire us in meeting the problems of the present and future, seems to me a peculiarly appropriate memorial of the fiftieth anniversary of His Highness' rule—a rule during the period of which his sagacity, his judgment, and his tried experience, have done so much for Bikaner.

I warmly congratulate the People's Golden Jubilee Committee on the excellence of this memorial of the loyalty and devotion of the people of Bikaner to their Ruler, and of their pride and joy in his Jubilee.

You are right to value and reverence the prowess of the Bikaner Rathors of the past : no country can claim finer and more chivalrous warriors than they, and their example should be an inspiration to the youth of today and tomorrow.

I use the word "inspiration" advisedly, for if this museum is not to become a mere mausoleum of past glories—of the heroism which has been—it is necessary that we of today and our successors of tomorrow should not only admire and revere the exploits of those of past ages, but should resolve to follow their example and to adapt their spirit of courage and devotion to the solution of the problems which confront us in the changed circumstances of the present time—problems which, though they differ greatly from those which confronted our ancestors, require no less energy and determination for their successful solution.

The long and eminent career of His Highness, the distinguished achievements to which he can point in so many and such varied fields of action, all bear witness to the extent to which the great traditions of a famous past afford the inspiration requisite to meet and overcome the difficulties of modern times.

Nobody combines more happily than His Highness the Maharaja, military prowess with the initiative and energy necessary to the successful administration of a modern State, and Bikaner contains many memorials of his foresight and wise statesmanship.

I congratulate the Golden Jubilee Committee and the people of the State whom the Committee represents on the success with which their project has been carried out. The building which we see before us is in every way worthy of the high purpose which it is destined to fulfil and I offer my felicitations both to Mr. Foster King, who designed

it, and to Mr. R. H. T. Mackenzie, who has so successfully carried the architect's designs into effect.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my earnest wish that this Museum, which constitutes so signal a proof of the loyalty and devotion to their Ruler of the people of Bikaner, and of the cordial relations which unite the Ruler and his subjects, and which commemorates, too, an anniversary of such importance in the history of this illustrious State, may long serve to remind the people of Bikaner of the glories of the past and of the great contributions which, during the long period of his rule, His Highness has made to its prosperity and well-being.

I have much pleasure in declaring the Museum open."

12. FIFTY YEARS OF PROGRESS

Nov. 6, 1937 *Speech at the banquet at Bikaner on the occasion of the Jubilee celebration of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner on Nov. 6, 1937 :*

"I am most grateful to Your Highness for the kind terms in which you have proposed the health of my wife and myself, and I thank you most warmly for the cordial welcome you have given us.

This is not, as you know, our first visit to Bikaner, but Your Highness knows what happy memories we carried away of our former visit, and how great a pleasure it is to both of us that, on this historic occasion, on which Your Highness is celebrating the 50th Anniversary of your accession to the Gaddi, we should be present to take part in the celebration of your Golden Jubilee, and to witness the loyal enthusiasm of your subjects.

The long period of Your Highness' rule has been marked by achievements of the greatest benefit to your State, and by a record of service of which any Prince might well be proud. The steadfast and eminent loyalty to the Crown of Your Highness and Your House is too well known to call for remark from me ; yet I cannot but think tonight, when we celebrate an anniversary so significant to your State, of your long and close association with the person of successive Sovereigns.

Your Highness was present at the Coronations of King Edward VII, of King George V, and of King George VI : you were appointed so long ago as 1902 to be an A.-D.-C. to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales—afterwards His Majesty King George V, and you have ever since 1910 been attached as an A.-D.-C. to the person of the reigning Monarch. That is a record which is, I think I am right in saying, unique in the Princely Order, and one of which Your Highness may well be proud.

The loyal assurance which I have tonight received from Your Highness, of your readiness to place at the disposal of His Majesty the entire resources of your State in men and money should occasion unhappily arise, is but what I should have expected from a Prince

whose record of loyalty and of service to the Empire is so distinguished, and who has been so closely associated personally with so many Sovereigns. It will be a pleasure to me to convey that assurance to His Imperial Majesty.

The celebrations which are now taking place mark the Jubilee of the Ruler of one of the most conspicuous and progressive States in India; a Ruler, too, who has achieved for himself an outstanding position in India and the Empire.

We are all of us familiar with the long record of distinguished service of Your Highness, in the field, as a Prince, as an administrator. To refer in detail to the many events of the long period of your rule is not possible in the short time at my disposal tonight. But it is only proper that I should touch briefly on certain at any rate of the more significant and memorable features and events of your long rule.

Let me in the first place make some mention of the beneficent works which Your Highness has accomplished in Bikaner. To describe, however inadequately, all those works would far exceed the compass of this speech. I shall content myself therefore with a reference to some of the more important of them which must serve as exemplars of the whole.

There can, I think, be no more striking example of Your Highness' foresight and solicitude for your people than the irrigation works which you have undertaken, and in particular, the construction of the Gang Canal, which was opened by His Excellency Lord Irwin in October 1927, and which most appropriately bears Your Highness' name.

Even had Your Highness no other achievements to your credit, the Gang Canal would be a lasting memorial of your rule. By the waters of that canal many miles of desert, indeed a large proportion of the total area of the north of the State, have been converted into fertile land on which valuable crops are yearly raised.

This achievement, in any circumstances striking, is all the more outstanding in importance since in the area through which the canal now flows cultivation had for centuries been impossible owing to lack of water.

I need not dwell on the prosperity and happiness which the existence of the Gang Canal must have brought to those of Your Highness' subjects who are so fortunate as to live in its vicinity, and to the many thousands who had emigrated from the Punjab in order to take up land on the canal, nor on the contribution which such a work must have made to the country's wealth.

No more eloquent tribute could be paid to the reality of the benefit which the canal has conferred than the increase of 116,000 which occurred in the population of the State in the neighbourhood of the Gang Canal between the Census of 1921 and that of 1931.

Nor is it only agriculture which has benefited from Your Highness' energy in developing works of public utility and the statesmanlike foresight you have displayed throughout the long period of your rule.

Your Highness can point to the construction of many miles of railway and to a great development in the supply of electricity for domestic and industrial purposes alike.

Finally, those who have had the good fortune to visit Your Highness' capital cannot but have been struck by the many beautiful buildings which adorn it and which add so greatly to the attraction of the surroundings of the city.

Let me in particular pay a tribute to the Bijey Singhji Memorial Hospitals, which Lady Linlithgow and I saw with so much interest yesterday. Those hospitals the design and layout of which are so admirably calculated to further the beneficent object which they have in view, represent not merely a distinguished addition to the architecture of Bikaner. They afford also, equipped as they are, in the most impressive degree, with latest resources of modern science, a convincing proof of the importance attached by Your Highness to making available to the subjects of your State first class medical attention and medical provision—an aspect of administration to which the generous gifts you have made for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis bear further witness.

Nor would it be appropriate that I should fail, in this connection, to mention the Museum, which it gave me so much pleasure to open yesterday, and which represents the subject chosen by the Golden Jubilee Committee of the people of Bikaner to celebrate the Jubilee of Your Highness.

Your Highness had hardly begun to rule over your State when in 1900 war broke out in China, and the Bikaner Ganga Risala, under your personal command, formed part of the British Expeditionary Force which was despatched to the scene of operations, where it played an honourable part.

A sterner trial was in store for Your Highness and your State Forces during the fateful years from 1914 to 1918. During that critical and anxious period, the Bikaner State troops saw service during the Great War in France, where Your Highness also served in person, and afterwards in the defence of Egypt.

I can pay no higher tribute to Your Highness and your forces than to say that throughout those trying campaigns Your Highness and your troops worthily upheld the traditional prowess of the Rajput race.

I pass to more peaceful topics. Your Highness' acumen as a statesman both in India and the Empire is no less well known than your prowess as a soldier.

In India you were the first Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes on its inauguration in February 1921, and you were re-elected to that high office on several occasions. You were a leading member of the First Round Table Conference which made so profound a contribution to the constitutional history of this country by inaugurating the proposals for a Federation of British India and the Indian States—proposals which, it is hoped, will before long be translated into an accomplished fact to the lasting benefit of all concerned.

I was glad to hear the tribute which Your Highness has paid tonight to the Federal ideal, and I share your hope that the States will find it possible to accede to the Federation, and that at an early date.

I am profoundly convinced of the importance to the future of India of the early realisation of the Federal scheme ; and just as since assuming office I have spared no effort to remove misunderstandings or uncertainties about that scheme, so you can rely upon me to continue to lend my utmost endeavour to secure that a constitutional development of such potential importance to India and to her peoples is brought to fruition with the minimum of delay.

On more than one occasion Your Highness has represented India with distinction at the Assembly of the League of Nations. But Your Highness' activities as a statesman have not been confined to India and Indian affairs.

During the Great War you were a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, and later, when the War had terminated, of the Peace Conference. Later still you were appointed by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor one of the Plenipotentiaries for signing the Peace Treaty, and in that capacity you were one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles. Such have been some of the historic events in which Your Highness has taken an honourable and prominent part.

It is but fitting on this occasion that I should say a word about the steps which Your Highness has chosen to signalise this anniversary.

I welcome your decision to increase the elected majority in your State Council, a decision which accords with the spirit of the time and which cannot fail to be appreciated by your subjects.

I have mentioned already the generous and far-sighted contribution which Your Highness has made to the fighting of the scourge of tuberculosis, a scourge in combating which Her Excellency and I have taken so keen an interest, and to which we hope ourselves to make an early contribution. And I am sure that the other steps which Your Highness has taken to make available additional medical provision for the people of your State will equally prove to be of the utmost value.

I read, too, with the utmost satisfaction, among the other substantial and valuable boons which have been granted by Your Highness; the generous remissions of arrears of interest, amounting to over 41 lakhs of rupees, which Your Highness has approved on the instalments payable up to 1935-36 for lands purchased in the Ganga Canal area, and the steps you have taken to create a Rural Uplift Department, and to deal with that most important problem—the liquidation of agricultural debt. And I feel no doubt that the educational benefits which you have taken this occasion to confer upon your State will be of widespread and permanent value to its inhabitants.

I have endeavoured as briefly as possible, Ladies and Gentlemen, to recall to your minds some of those achievements which have made His Highness an outstanding figure and a conspicuously successful Ruler.

Indeed I know of no Ruler of an Indian State in modern times who has by his individual efforts done more for his State and his subjects than our distinguished host ; and the enthusiastic welcome which one has seen His Highness receive in the streets of Bikaner affords unmistakable evidence of the relations between Prince and people, and of the extent to which the State appreciates the good work which His Highness has done for it over so many years.

I was very glad to hear the generous tribute which Your Highness has paid to the officers of my Political Department and in particular to Sir Bertrand Glancy and to Sir George Ogilvie.

It is a great pleasure to me that the good work of the Department and its officers, and their service to the States should be recognised in such warm terms by a Ruler so distinguished and with such long experience as Your Highness.

Looking back over the last 50 years with their stress and dangers, their successes and disappointments, it must be supremely gratifying to Your Highness to compare the condition of your State now with its condition when you started to rule over it, to mark the improvement in its resources, to observe the devotion of your people, and to reflect that these are almost entirely the fruits of your own labours.

It is a source of profound satisfaction to me tonight to be able, by the command of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, to announce that His Majesty has been graciously pleased on this auspicious occasion to recognise the eminent record of His Highness the Maharaja alike in peace and war, as ruler, as soldier, and as statesman by the promotion of His Highness from the rank of Lieutenant-General to the rank of General.

You will join with me, Ladies and Gentlemen, in tendering my heartiest congratulations to His Highness on this signal distinction ; and you will share my own warm and sincere hope that for very many years to come he will live to give to his State the wisdom of his rule.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink with me to the health of our illustrious host, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner."

13. SCOUTS' DUTY TO INDIA

Nov. 16, 1937

" We are all fellow-scouts and should do the best we can for India through the medium of the Scout Movement." This spirit, emphasises Lord Linlithgow in opening the Triennial Conference of the All-India Boy Scouts' Association on November 16, 1937, should inspire their activities. Extract from the address :

"... You will have noticed that I addressed you as 'Fellow Scouts.' This form of address was deliberate. I want that to be the key-note of these discussions—the realisation that we are all fellow Scouts and that the object of our presence here is to do the best we can for India through the medium of the Scout Movement. I feel confident that this conference cannot fail to achieve success if its deliberations are carried out with this realisation in our minds, and if we, inspired

by the great achievements in the past of the Scout Movement in India, keep to the spirit of Scouting, the main characteristics of which are, as you all know, toleration, loyalty, and discipline.

It may be of value if I analyse in general terms the position as I see it. Let me start then with what are, after all, fundamental—the aims of Scouting. I was reading the other day the Charter of the Boy Scouts' Association, which refers in its preamble to the Boy Scouts as an organization "for the purpose of instructing boys of all classes in the principles of discipline, loyalty, and good citizenship." The Policy, Organization and Rules of the Boy Scouts' Association in India repeats those principles in rather fuller terms and goes on to add that the Association is non-political and non-sectarian: let me add, too, in order to contradict an opinion, of which there are indications in some quarters, but which is in fact wholly erroneous, that it is essentially non-official.

Nobody will deny the value of these principles when applied to the youth of any country. They are educative principles of universal application. But as in the case of any such principles, the main difficulty lies in the organization of the machinery for their individual application. This is no new problem. It is to a certain extent the old story of the wood and the trees; and you will not misunderstand me if I urge on you the great danger of our losing the wood for the trees, of losing sight of the universal principles of our Movement in the individual difficulties of their application. There is no need for me to remind you of the wide differences between the various parts of India, of which any All-India Movement must take full account, of the great religions professed by its inhabitants, of its intense national consciousness, of the historic traditions of the Provinces and of the conflicting allegiances that each produces. The principles of the Scout Movement aim at breaking down these divisions and differences; but the closeness of problems and considerations which more nearly and immediately concern us, sometimes leads us to pay exclusive attention to them at the expense of the wider problems with which they are inevitably linked. It is the appearance of this tendency that I see in Scouting in India today. We are in danger of basing our line of action on the nearer individual case instead of on the more distant universal principle, possibly even of mistaking the means for the end. I would like to suggest to you, therefore, that if we concentrate on our agreement over the principles of the Movement, the problems of Scouting in India with which we at this conference will be concerned will appear much more as problems of the machinery by which the principles in which we all believe will be put into effect than as problems of fundamental agreement or disagreement regarding those principles themselves which many people appear to consider they are. The adjustment of the machinery of any organization to the developments of the time is a process of common occurrence. Like all processes of adjustment, it is at times both difficult and uncomfortable; but—and this I would impress on you—it is made easier if the principle in which you believe and which you want to create as a live force is kept uppermost in your minds.

I was reading recently the latest volume of Lord Baldwin's speeches 'The Service of our Lives'; and I read again that wise message which he broadcast on the evening of Their Majesties' Coronation last May. There is a passage in that which to my mind has a peculiar significance for us and which I would like to read to you:

'Let us dedicate ourselves', he said, 'let us dedicate ourselves—afresh if need be—to the service of our fellows, a service in widening circles, service to the home, service to our neighbourhood, to our county, our province, to our country, to the Empire, and to the world.'

The parallel must suggest itself to you. In Scouting in India we each have our local and provincial loyalties which demand our allegiance. But these are, and must be, subordinate to the greater loyalty of the All-India Scout Movement. There is perhaps in certain quarters a hesitation readily to accept the value to the Movement of an All-India Central Organization because there is a fear that by attachment to such a Centre a certain freedom and individuality of local associations will be lost. But as I said in my recent Message I do not consider that a unified Scout Movement in India is in any way incompatible with liberty of action in the Provinces within the framework of the Movement, or with the fullest recognition of the national character of the Movement as a whole. I am convinced that it is through these wider associations and contacts that the integral parts of the Movement will retain vitality and direction.

With these words, Gentlemen, I will leave you. Fateful decisions are in your hands; and may wisdom and good fortune attend your deliberations. I repeat again that I am convinced that if you bear in mind the great principles on which this Movement was founded and is now based, if you keep steadily before you the truth that more intimate loyalties are not incompatible with those of wider and more diverse application, and if you will submit each issue as it arises to the simple test: 'what is best for the boys?'—you can reach decisions which will unite the Scout Movement in India and will help it to march forward with renewed strength and to add fresh laurels to its record of service to India and its youth."

14. INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY

Nov. 20, 1937 *Speech in presenting the Viceroy's Banner to the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun on November* 20, 1937:

"Brigadier Kingsley, Officers and Gentlemen Cadets of the Indian Military Academy,—It gives me very great pleasure to come here today and present this Banner to be competed for by each Company at games in each Half, in the same way as the previous Banner presented to you by my distinguished predecessor in office, Lord Willingdon.

I notice incidentally that B and C Companies seem to have established something of a monopoly of that Banner. I hope that A

and D Companies will see to it that B and C do not succeed in winning this new Banner too regularly or too easily, and will in their turn successfully challenge those former winners.

In presenting this Banner my desire is to stimulate in each one of you the determination to do his utmost to make his own Company the best, and I am glad to hear that a second league has been started this Half, which will give more Cadets an opportunity of joining in the games and of competing for the honour of their Company. Let every man of you think it no hardship to make and keep himself fit, and go his hardest at whatever he does—that is one of the most important of the lessons you have to learn here, where you are training for the game of life which each of you has to play when you leave this place. If a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth putting your whole heart into it and doing it as well as ever you can.

I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating your Commandant and Officers, as well as you Gentlemen Cadets yourselves, on the high standard of the parade which I have seen ; it reflects the greatest credit on you all. I am looking forward with keen interest to seeing later on other activities and phases of your life at this Academy. Good luck to you all ! I wish you all every success and happiness in your careers ; you will I know do credit to your forebears and this Academy where you have been trained, and will worthily uphold the high traditions of the Indian Army."

15. MEDICAL RESEARCH

Opening the Medical Research Workers' Conference on November 29, 1937, Lord Linlithgow lays emphasis on the importance of nutritional research. Lack of education in a large section of the population in India prevents them from utilising even the available resources to the fullest possible extent. " I fully realise," says Lord Linlithgow, " that this is a problem which is fundamentally one for Provincial Governments and local authorities." But he assures them that they can look with confidence to the Indian Research Fund Association for co-operation. Extracts from the address :— **Nov. 29 1937**

" It will not be possible for me today in the brief time at my disposal to do more than touch on two or three aspects of the work of medical research at the present time. Before I proceed to mention certain individual items in which I take a particularly close interest, I would like to say briefly how great is the importance from the point of view of India that attaches to the close and earnest pursuit of the solution of the many problems which still lie before us in the field of medical research, and how strong is the case for the generous support of philanthropists in this country in providing financial assistance for activities the outcome of which is of such great significance to the whole of this sub-continent.

The School of Tropical Medicine at Calcutta, the work of which has been so invaluable, is fortunate in having a large endowment fund which was raised from donations from commercial associations

and firms in principally, Bengal and Assam, such as the Indian Tea Association and the Indian Jute Association.

No one who is aware of the invaluable results which have emerged from the work and the researches of the School of Tropical Medicine and its officers can for a moment hesitate as to the value which has been obtained for the money which the bodies in question with such public spirit provided in aid of research.

The All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, the work of which again is so material to the maintenance of health and the reduction of the incidence of mortality in India, is the result of private munificence, but of private munificence from a source outside this country.

The appeal I would make is to those private individuals who have the welfare and the improvement of standards of health in this country at heart to bear in mind the strong claims of medical research in its various forms to their munificence. There is no way I am sure in which a more real and valuable contribution can be made to progress in India, and I can most warmly commend the claims of medical research to consideration in this connection.

You are well aware, ladies and gentlemen, of the interest I take in the matter of nutritional research, and in this very important question India, thanks mainly to the work of Sir Robert McCarrison, can claim an eminent place.

Nutrition and immunity, as an eminent authority has pointed out, constitute the two most powerful weapons in man's hands for his fight against disease. Adequate nutrition has, apart from this, a positive contribution to make to the health and the sense of well-being of the individual. The subject is, I am well aware, of extreme complexity in this country, because the problem of nutrition is so closely associated with the economic condition of the people, and because of the poverty which, to the profound regret of all of us, prevails in so many parts of India.

Any attempts for the improvement of the position must therefore take note of the existing food resources of the country, and must devise means for their augmentation.

A difficulty, too, the importance of which will not be overlooked, is that in regard to a large section of the population, lack of knowledge as to modern dietetic principles may frequently prevent them from utilising even the available resources to the fullest possible extent. I fully realise that this is a problem which is fundamentally one for Provincial Governments and Local Authorities. But I am sure that those Governments and those Local Authorities can look with confidence to the Indian Research Fund Association to assist them by carrying out such research as may be essential for formulating administrative policy.

I would refer in particular in this connection to the invaluable work which has been performed by the Nutrition Research Laboratories of the Association at Coonoor. As you are aware, those

laboratories have applied themselves for years past to nutrition research, to the study of the diets of the different communities in India, and to dealing with specific nutritional diseases.

I am glad to think that, under Dr. Aykroyd's expert guidance, within the last year or two the scope of this work has been considerably increased and that it now includes dietetic surveys on an extended scale in different parts of India, the assessment of the nutritive value of articles of food in common use by the people, the formulation of objective standards for nutrition, and the dissemination of knowledge regarding nutrition by free advice to institutions and by propaganda.

Facilities have also been made available for selected officers from Provincial Departments of Public Health to undergo a special course of nutritional training at Coonoor, a course the value of which is I am convinced great.

It is my earnest hope that those Provinces which owing to pressure on existing personnel, or for other reasons, were unable to depute officers to the first course of this nature will find it possible to take advantage of a further course which is now proposed to be held.

I am convinced myself of the importance of providing trained officers for the Provinces who can be employed in the nutritional field ; and I am confident that the fullest use will be made in that field by the Provincial Governments which have found themselves able in the past or which may find themselves able in the future to depute officers to Coonoor of the expert training which their officers have received there.

A further step of substantial importance is that consequent on a recommendation of the Nutrition Advisory Committee steps are now being taken to co-ordinate agricultural research with the needs of human nutrition. The problems of human nutrition are closely associated with those of agriculture and of animal husbandry, and it is in my judgment a matter of the utmost importance that this association should be adequately recognised in terms of the organisation of research.

Let me refer briefly in this connection to one side-issue, for though it is a side-issue it is one of much significance, and one to which I have endeavoured in the past to draw particular attention.

I refer to the benefit to be derived by the feeding of children even with small quantities of milk, a benefit which has been more than established by the work of the Nutrition Research Laboratories at Coonoor.

The results of those experiments on, to take one instance only, the effect of giving skimmed milk regularly to day and boarding school children are remarkable indeed. When an ill-nourished child living on rice is given milk regularly, it immediately begins to grow more rapidly and its general health shows an improvement.

I fully realise that milk costs money and that the resources at our disposal are insufficient to enable us to go as far as we should like in this regard.

To supply a child daily with 8 ounces of liquid milk reconstituted from skimmed milk powder costs about 12 annas a month, a large sum in relation to living standards in India. Nevertheless I am glad to see that a number of children's institutions have, by economies in other directions, managed to include greater quantities of milk in their diet schedules.

And I would like again to draw such attention as I may to the great importance of the use of milk and to its beneficent results on the younger generation and so on the future of India.

Let me say a word, too, about the problem of maternal mortality, a problem of the first importance from the point of view of public health in India.

Though no precise figures are available, I am given to understand that I should not be far wrong if I put the number of maternal deaths at as high a figure as from 150,000 to 200,000 per year. The average combined annual mortality from small-pox and plague approximates to this figure, while the annual mortality from cholera is not much higher.

I need say nothing of the disastrous consequences to the health and happiness of the home when, as so frequently happens, maternal mortality cuts off the mother of the growing family. This whole subject has been under investigation in Calcutta now for over a year, and during the present year a similar investigation has been initiated in Bombay.

The experience of Calcutta has shown that the anæmia associated with pregnancy and eclampsia is responsible for a large proportion of maternal deaths.

These are conditions which require much more detailed investigation than they have hitherto received: and it would be of great value if this work, the importance of which I heartily commend to the generously-minded, could be further extended.

I come now to the problem of Tuberculosis. Lady Linlithgow and I ever since we returned to this country have been watching the position in regard to this problem with the closest attention; and I will frankly confess that we were both profoundly concerned to see the rapidly increasing toll which it is taking of the life and health of India; and that we were profoundly impressed, too, with the necessity for taking the earliest possible remedial steps.

There is no question that Tuberculosis is one of the major public health problems of this country.

Investigations carried out by the Tuberculosis Association of Bengal appear to suggest that in that Presidency alone there may be each year 100,000 deaths from this disease, and that the number of persons infected may be so large as a million.

What is more important again is that the greatest degree of infection occurs between the ages of 20 and 30; and in Calcutta, which I quote only because of the reliability of the figures available

to me in respect of it, it is estimated that at this age period there are five times more deaths among females than among males.

I realise that there are many factors which go to make the control of Tuberculosis difficult. I need only refer in the first place to the increasing facilities of motor transport, which make for a rapid movement between urban and rural areas; and secondly, to the fact that industrial labour in India is largely drawn from villages, and that contact with the rural areas is maintained by the factory worker, who under the congested conditions of city life is continuously exposed to infection.

Researches have already been carried out under the auspices of the Research Fund Association which have helped to throw valuable light on some aspects of this problem, all the more important because the epidemiology of the disease appears in India to differ in some respects from that of western countries.

This work is still only at its beginning, and epidemiological surveys on an extensive scale will be necessary before we are in a position to obtain an accurate picture of the Tuberculosis problem.

Let me however repeat that the problem is one of the utmost importance. I can say today that I hope there will be made on Wednesday an announcement as to an Appeal by my wife in connection with it, the response to which will I hope be nation-wide, and such as to enable us to see in every Province and every State in India arrangements for the prevention and treatment of Tuberculosis on a really satisfactory basis, and to establish an effective barrier against the ravages of this scourge."

16. INDIA'S FORESTS

Referring to India's great material wealth in forests and their importance as an economic asset, their value to agriculture and their beneficent influence on climate, on water conservation and on erosion, Lord Linlithgow welcomes the opportunity of expressing his sincere belief and deep confidence that the new Ministries will be as zealous as any of their predecessors to conserve and to develop even further the forest resources which are now under their control. **Dec. 1937**

Extracts from address opening the conference of Provincial Ministers and Representatives of States convened by the Government of India on December 9, 1937 :—

" The material wealth of India in forests is very great and the importance of forests as an economic asset calls for no emphasis from me. We are all of us well aware of the contribution which the forest yield of this country makes to the maintenance of one of the most precious of its economic assets, its live-stock.

We are sensible, too, of the value of forests to agriculture, and of their beneficent influence on climate, on water conservation and on erosion.

To realise how important it is to retain the natural protection afforded by forests and how conspicuously fortunate India's record in this regard has been, one has only to look round at other countries and to see how in some large areas of land, unsuited for permanent cultivation which were alienated from forests and made into farms, have now been abandoned to waste and desolation and in others how forest denudation has led to flooding or dust-storms which have brought wide-spread destruction and misery in their train.

The scientific attention which the various Governments in India and the Services working under them have for so long a period of years paid to the forests of India has achieved results of inestimable value; and the long record of conservation and development which has earned for India so prominent a place in the list of countries confronted with the care of great forest resources is one on which we can all of us reflect with pride.

With the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy the responsibility for the conservation and the handling of the forest wealth of India passed in fuller measure to Ministers elected by the people.

I welcome this opportunity of saying how sincere is my belief and how deep my confidence that the new Ministries will be as zealous as any of their predecessors to conserve and to develop even further the forest resources which are now under their control.

I am confident, too, that in their work they can look for the loyal support and the disinterested advice of the members of the Forest Services whose contribution in the past has been of such great value.

You will agree with me that Forest Administration is a subject which by its very nature does not admit, if the best results are to be achieved, of isolation within the boundaries of any single Province.

Efficiency today is achieved and maintained only by a constant effort to keep up to date, by the persistent acquisition of knowledge of general conditions and of new scientific discoveries, by comparison of method and the like.

If we consider it also from another aspect, timber is a commodity of world-wide economic importance, and no producer today can afford to disregard the demands of his market or the technique of his competitors when that technique enables them to place better or cheaper goods on the market.

The fact that each Province is responsible for its own forest wealth does not I suggest weaken the need, or diminish the advantage, of periodical consultation with a view to the exchange of ideas and, where this may prove to be desirable or feasible, of active co-operation.

I suggest that this is one of the directions in which the Government of India can well be of assistance to the Provinces, and can most appropriately and conveniently afford the facilities for periodical discussion of the kind which I have mentioned.

I need only refer to the invaluable work which has been done by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and by the Central

Advisory Boards of Education and of Public Health as an instance of the assistance which can be given in this way without in any way interfering with or impinging on the legitimate sphere of the Provincial Governments and the responsibilities which have now been transferred to them.

The Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun is an institution admirably equipped for the forwarding of research, the value of which to the conservation and utilisation of the forest wealth of India needs no emphasis from me. I have myself had the pleasure more than once of visiting the Institute and of examining its admirable equipment.

No one who has had the opportunity of inspecting it can fail to be impressed by the excellence of its equipment, by the quality of the work which has been and is being done, and the opportunities which an institution of this character affords. I am aware that the Institute has been criticised in the past on the ground that it tended to isolate itself from the Provinces and from industry for purposes of effective collaboration in the practical application of knowledge attained and recorded within it.

Whatever foundation there may have been for that criticism in the past, active steps have been and are being taken to improve conditions in this regard. A special Utilisation Branch has been established; everything is being done to encourage touring by the officers of the Institute; and in particular, and to this I attach much importance, active steps are being taken to pursue propaganda in non-technical language.

That existing methods and existing machinery may in certain respects need modification if they are to give the fullest value in modern conditions may well be the case.

But I can assure you, Gentlemen, that any constructive suggestions designed to this end which may be made either by this Conference as a whole, or, after the Conference closes, by its individual members, shall have the closest and most sympathetic consideration.

I can assure you, too, that not only on general grounds, but because of my own close and active concern with agriculture and the allied fields of plant and animal husbandry, you can rely on my personal interest in any action that may be needed in that respect.

Before concluding my speech I would like to concentrate your attention on the magnitude of the work in the hands of forest administrations in India.

The day-to-day concern with the immediate problems of one's particular field of work sometimes tends to produce a lack of perspective. It is then that it is useful to have the picture as a whole brought before one's mind. In order to appreciate this for myself I examined the other day the latest figures dealing with forest matters for the year 1933-34. These were so striking that with your permission, Gentlemen, I will quote them to you.

Burma with its great forest areas has now been separated from India, but even so there still remains in India a total area of 99,746 square miles of forest of which 71,357 square miles are reserve.

The total number of animals grazed in that year was over eleven and a half million. The total value of wood and timber exports was over Rs. 20 lakhs. The gross forest revenue exceeded Rs. 2½ crores, of which over Rs. 2 crores were spent in meeting the charges of forest administration.

These figures give some idea of the material forest wealth of India and of its contribution to the maintenance of India's live-stock. The responsibility of administering assets as large as these is a very great one, and one which cannot but have a material influence on the discussions of this Conference.

Whether these discussions are concerned mainly with service matters or whether they deal with the wider questions of development and utilisation, your decisions and recommendations must be important."

17. TWELVE MONTHS OF ACHIEVEMENT

Dec. 20, 1937

The change represented by Provincial Autonomy, and the powers and the responsibilities which, under it, passed to the control of popularly elected Ministers, are discussed in Lord Linlithgow's address to the annual session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 20, 1937.

Extracts :

" Our object was the advantage of this great country with whose fortunes Great Britain has been so intimately associated for so long a period and to which she can, I think, with a clear conscience, claim to have made a contribution not unworthy of her own traditions and of the ideals which we and our forbears have set before us.

The Act contemplates two essential stages, Provincial Autonomy and the Federation of India—the first of these stages was attained on the 1st of April of this year.

Since that date in every province of British India the administration has been in the hands of autonomous ministries and I think we can claim that eight months' experience of the working of the ministries has shown that the scheme of provincial autonomy is one worthy of acceptance and one which, in practical experiment, has already manifested its great possibilities. Experience over the short period in question has, too, I think shown clearly the sincerity of our anxiety to give all possible help to the development of democratic institutions in India and the readiness of the Governors and of the Services to lend all the assistance in their power.

Difficulties may on occasions have arisen. But it has been and is the sincere desire as it is the duty, of Governors and of the Services to give within the scheme of the Act all possible help and assistance to the Ministries on which such heavy responsibilities rest.

It is an encouragement to me to see the manner in which those responsibilities have been used by Ministers of every party in every province.

We are still at an early stage in our experience of the working of the Act and of the difficulties which may present themselves for one reason or another in the process of its operation.

It would be foolish of me to suggest that all difficulties have been overcome or that problems may not arise as to the handling of which there may be substantial and serious differences of view. That is only to be expected when we are dealing with so vast a population and with issues of such magnitude and such complexity.

All I can say is that for myself my one anxiety will always be, consistently with the obligations which fall upon me under the Act, to lend all the help I can to the smooth and easy working of the Act and that, equally, is I know the attitude of every Governor in India.

If I have an appeal to make today, it is an appeal for goodwill and for patience, for a long view of the problems that lie before us all, for a realization of the great potentialities of the scheme of provincial autonomy.

I am satisfied that that appeal, in the light of the realist approach which Governments of whatever party in every province have so far made to their heavy task, will not fall on deaf ears. Indeed, the response which has so far been made to the provisions of the Act is of such a character that I would hardly feel justified in making that appeal were it not that political experience throughout the world has abundantly shown that it is not enough to start well; that it is dangerous to think that because one has taken the first water successfully one is secure in the deeper ocean movements which may lie ahead; or that one can regard one's own problems in isolation or otherwise than in terms of their relation to world movements and world political experience.

There lies ahead of us the achievement of an ideal which inspired the framers of the Act; an ideal for which we owe a deep debt of gratitude to those spokesmen of the Indian States and of British India who participated in the deliberations which resulted in the present constitutional scheme.

When I spoke to you a year ago I said that in my judgment Federation was not remote. I have spared no effort in the period which has since elapsed for the solution of the problems inherent in the establishment of a Federation. Those problems can never in their nature be simple. Their importance becomes, if possible, greater when the Federation involves the combination and the co-operation not only of the great provinces of British India, with their widely varying conditions and problems, but of the historical Indian States with their long individual traditions; and the harmonization, so far as possible, into a common scheme of British Indian and Indian State interests and concerns.

However great our anxiety (and none can be greater than mine and that of the Secretary of State), to achieve at the earliest possible

moment the culmination of the scheme embodied in the Act, by placing on the Indian constitutional edifice, of which provincial autonomy is the first and essential stage, the coping-stone of Federation, it would be foolish to rush ahead without taking all possible pains for the preliminary elucidation of the various problems which present themselves.

I arranged, as you know, with the object of ensuring that in reaching our conclusions we had before us the fullest information as to the questions of concern to the Indian States, for the dispatch to the Rulers of those States of emissaries of my own.

I cannot overestimate the value of the approach thus made and of the information which those emissaries, in the light of their discussions with the Rulers, made available to me of the points to which the States attached importance. It has been no light matter to analyse the results of those visits, but I do not for a moment regret the delay which has been involved, for it makes it possible for us to say that in the evolution of the great scheme, the framework of which is laid down in the Act of 1935, there was no aspect of which we were not conscious or to the effect of which we were failing to give full value.

You can rely on me to continue to urge forward, with all the energy and all the personal interest which I have in me, the completion of the scheme. I feel confident that the Rulers of the Indian States, with their long tradition of statesmanship and their clear realization of the trend of world events and the fortunes of India, can be relied upon to play their part.

I have spoken little so far of those immediate commercial problems which are of such direct concern to you and to those whom you represent.

I have done so deliberately because in my judgment, vital as those immediate problems are, the matter of essential significance to all of us is the present and the future state of India. Provincial Autonomy directly and immediately affects you and your affairs: that is no less true of Federation.

Two changes of great importance which have taken place since December 1936 are the separation of Burma and the provisions of the Indo-Burma Trade Regulation Order which came into force in April last. The importance of close relations between India and Burma from the point of view of both countries is one which is present to all of us; and in the lengthy discussions which led up to the framing of the Trade Regulation Order the constant preoccupation of my Government was to ensure that the change in the status of Burma should involve as little dislocation as possible in her commerce with India.

In that I think I am right in saying we had the support of the entire trading community of both the countries. I do not think that I am going too far when I say that even after this relatively short experience of the operation of the Order-in-Council we can claim that our object has been attained.

There is a second important matter which has reached a decisive point in the last 12 months. The lengthy trade negotiations which

have taken place with Japan ended last April with the new Agreement, which was formally signed in London two months ago.

Under that Agreement we have been able to provide for reasonable safeguards for our textile industry and a measure of security for our cotton-growers ; and I think that we can claim, in the light of well-informed Press comment in both countries and of the manner in which the terms of the Agreement have been received by the trade, that the Agreement has given that reasonable satisfaction to both parties which is after all the only solid basis for the maintenance of friendly commercial relations between nations.

Our discussions with the United Kingdom with the object of concluding a new agreement to replace that concluded in 1932 in pursuance of the Ottawa Pact are still in progress.

I am very conscious of the criticism which has been made that those negotiations have been unduly protracted.

That is a criticism, natural as it may be, to which if regard is had to the volume and the importance of the trade between the two countries and to the complexity of the issues involved, an exaggerated importance ought not to be attached.

To examine those details, frequently of so direct a relevance in a case such as this, has inevitably taken time, but there has been no break in the negotiations. There has hardly been even a necessary pause and at the stage which things have reached I see no reason why, with patience and with understanding, we should not be able to look forward to the establishment on a satisfactory and mutual basis of our relations with our principal customer.

I have paid close attention since I have been in India to the expansion of our trade intelligence service. An Indian Trade Commissioner has opened his office in Japan. An Indian Trade Commissioner for East Africa is sailing from Bombay to Mombasa. A Trade Commissioner is to be appointed in New York. He will, I hope, open his office there in June of next year. The appointment of a Trade Commissioner at Alexandria to watch the developments of our trade interests in the Levant countries is actively under investigation.

We can in other words claim during the last 12 months to have taken decisions the result of which will be to develop our foreign trade intelligence service. I may I think appropriately in this connection refer to the recent decision to appoint an economist of international reputation as Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

I need lay no emphasis on the fact that it is no longer possible in the conditions of the present day for the economics of any great nation to be considered in isolation, and the expansion of our intelligence system would be of little use without a proper study and interpretation in India of the data which it makes available. I am confident that we can look for assistance of the utmost value from the advice and the wide international experience of the gentleman who has been selected for this most important post.

I am accused from time to time of displaying an interest in agriculture which is close to a degree which leaves me little time to consider the improvement of industry.

I am deeply and sincerely concerned with agricultural problems. I think they are of the utmost importance to industry, and I am sure that it is vital to industry if real progress is to be made that agriculture in the countryside should be in a flourishing condition. Let me at once, however, repudiate any suggestion that because I am interested in agriculture I do not take the closest and the most informed interest in industrial problems. My own considerable experience of great industrial concerns has provided me with some degree of familiarity with the problems of industry and I would add with a natural incentive while I hold my present charge to do all in my power to further industrial development and prosperity in India."

18. SCIENCE CONGRESS JUBILEE

India can claim not a few scientists whose originality has won them international recognition, remarks Lord Linlithgow opening the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress at Calcutta on January 3, 1938.

Jan. 3, 1938

Referring to the vastly different backgrounds against which scientists in India and the west pursue their activities, Lord Linlithgow expresses the hope that through her scientists India will increasingly make her special contribution to world thought. Text of the speech :—

"Your Excellencies, Sir James Jeans, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It was with the utmost pleasure that I accepted the invitation which you so kindly extended to me to open the Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress Association. This session is a memorable occasion in the annals of Indian science, and I would like at the opening of my remarks to extend to the Association my warm congratulations on the successful completion of this stage in its long and useful life. I would like too to extend my congratulations to those responsible for the organization of this Session. They have—and I feel I express the opinion of all present—been peculiarly happy in their choice of Calcutta for the meeting and in their decision, with a view to marking the special character of this Session, to extend invitations to representatives of the British Association, and to scientists from other countries, to join in the discussions and celebrations which are to take place.

The choice of Calcutta as the meeting place is particularly appropriate. For it was here that the first inaugural meeting of the Association was held in 1914, in the rooms of the then Asiatic Society of Bengal, which, if I may quote Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee's words, 'has been throughout its long career the principal source of inspiration in the organization and advancement of scientific research of every description in this country.' I feel that it would not be amiss if I were to express here the deep debt of gratitude which this Association owes to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, which can I think

appropriately be described as its foster-parent in its early days and a very benign and helpful relative even today. Calcutta, too, is the city with which the name of that distinguished educationist, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, himself the first Chairman of this Association, is associated. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that the beginnings and continued development of the Association are very largely due to his energy and interest, and to the impetus which he imparted to the activities of the Association in its early days.

The visit of the distinguished representatives of the British Association and of scientists from other countries make this Jubilee Session outstanding in the history of the Association. To all our distinguished visitors I extend a very cordial welcome. We in India, if I may say so, consider your visit to this country a very great compliment. Indeed it is more : it is a recognition, as it were, of India's scientific coming of age, and a happy augury for closer co-operation in the domain of science between India and the outside world.

I cannot allow this occasion to pass without expressing our keen regret at the untimely death of Lord Rutherford. He was to have presided over the deliberations of this joint Session. His death means not only the loss of a President who would have left the imprint of his great mind and personality on this Conference, but the loss to the world of perhaps the greatest experimental physicist of modern times. We are fortunate indeed in having Sir James Jeans to take his place. His contributions to astrophysics are world-famous, and his name is familiar to all persons acquainted with the English language through his brilliant exposition of our present knowledge regarding the celestial world.

I would fail in my duty if I did not also mention here the keen regret which we all feel at the death of Sir Jagdish Bose, one of India's greatest scientists, and a man whose work had achieved world-wide recognition. It is especially sad that he did not live to take part in these celebrations to mark the growth of scientific activity in India during the last 25 years—a growth in which he played so important a part. To him belongs the credit of being the first person to initiate scientific research outside the sphere of the Scientific Departments of Government ; and I do not think that I should go too far were I to style him the pioneer scientific worker in physics in India.

It is tempting on an occasion such as this to dwell on the personalities and the events which colour and mark the period the completion of which is being celebrated. The history of the Indian Science Congress Association during the last 25 years is rich in both ; indeed if one considers the development of world history over those 25 years it would be curious if the Association did not reflect in some degree the movements of those eventful years. But time compels me to refrain from any historical retrospect.

I cannot however pass on without paying a tribute to the success with which the Association has fulfilled the objects for which it was founded. Since the early seventies of the last century, young Indians began to interest themselves in science and to proceed abroad on what

then constituted brave ventures for many of them, to learn science. With the consequent increasing scientific activities in India the want was felt of an institution which would organize meetings of workers in different branches of science and enable them to exchange ideas, to establish those personal contacts which are so helpful in furthering scientific activity, to formulate policies for the furtherance of the cause of science and to bring its needs and services to the notice of those who are in a position to help in the attainment of its objectives.

The aims with which the Indian Science Congress Association was founded were three-fold. First, to encourage research and to publish the results amongst scientific workers in India; secondly, to give opportunities for personal intercourse and scientific companionship; thirdly, to promote public interest in science. These aims have been magnificently fulfilled... At the first meeting of the Association there were five sections, chemistry, physics, geology, botany and ethnology. The membership was 109 and 31 papers were read. At this year's conference there are 13 sections, a membership of more than 1,600 and 800 papers have been notified for reading. There are to be 22 discussions within individual sections and 10 joint discussions on programmes which concern more than one section. You will agree, I am sure, that this is a development the significance of which calls for no emphasis.

No one will deny, I think, that the Association, with its annual meetings at various centres throughout India, has done work of the utmost value in the impetus which it has given to scientific research throughout the country, and the assistance which it has lent, by stimulating close and constant collaboration between scientific workers, in the rationalising—if I may use a convenient word—of scientific work in India and the elimination of the risks of mutual ignorance and needless duplication of effort.

The Association too has rendered most useful service in bringing Indian scientists before the world outside by creating conditions for systematic presentation of their work. For this India owes the Association no inconsiderable debt of gratitude. India today can claim not a few scientists, the originality of whose contributions in different branches of science have won for them international recognition, and I feel that the presence of so many eminent scientists from abroad sets the seal of international recognition upon the position to which science in India has now attained.

The future of science in India is full of encouragement. India has demonstrated that she possesses men of capacity with the will to labour, and if we have workers equipped to take their place amongst those who today in every continent are engaged, whether in pure or in applied science, in advancing the frontiers of human knowledge, it is evident that India affords limitless opportunities for the harnessing of that knowledge for the betterment of mankind.

By universal accord the first and foremost object of our endeavour in the material field must be to better the lot of the agricultural population, to raise the standard of living of the cultivator. . . .

I can imagine no more fascinating challenge to young scientists in this country than the employment of their brains and the application of the latest scientific knowledge to the attempt to solve the manifold problems of material advancement that confront us on every side.

But encouraging though the prospect may be in theory, India is faced with the same practical difficulties that other countries experience of making provision for research and scientific activities. As regards the division of labour on scientific subjects between various authorities the position in India is, broadly speaking, that the universities devote themselves—and indeed it is fitting that this should be so—to pure science, while research in applied science is carried out in institutions organised for a specific purpose—the Indian Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Delhi, the Central Medical Research Institute at Kasauli, the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health at Calcutta,—to name only a few of the more prominent. But the financial burden of this research falls either immediately or in the long run on Government. Research institutions are almost exclusively maintained either by the Central or Provincial Governments. The work of the universities is substantially subsidized by the Governments of the provinces in which they are situated.

It is to my mind an unsatisfactory state of affairs that Government, with the manifold calls on its financial resources, should have to bear the main burden also in this respect.

The scope for scientific research, whether pure or applied, is practically unlimited and no small obligation exists on private munificence to supplement what Governments are now doing in work which Government has for so long so anxiously supported, and to which it continues today directly or indirectly to contribute on no mean scale.

The opportunities of science are great—the field remaining to be explored immense. I am confident that in asking for a still further development of the substantial assistance which over so many years, has been freely afforded by generous donors, I can rely on a response comparable in some degree with the needs to be met.

The presence of this distinguished gathering constitutes a manifestation of the interest taken by the intellectual world of the West in the trend of development in India. Interest from such a source is of inestimable value to India at the present time. It will, I feel, continue to be of value in the future.

India is in a transitional stage ; she is on the threshold of a new era. We may anticipate that the recent political reforms will inevitably find their reflection in an increased determination among Indians that India should continue in increasing degree to make her own individual contribution to world history and world concepts.

What will be the nature of that contribution and what its scale, it is difficult to foresee clearly at this period.

The history of Indian civilization goes further back than any history of Western countries. The great name of India has throughout

that long history at all times been associated with religion, with mysticism, with philosophy and with the arts.

Throughout the centuries her economy has been, as indeed it is likely to continue to be, fundamentally agricultural, with the simple, patient, methodical and thrifty life for the people which that implies.

With the march of the years there has come the inevitable impact of the West and India today is engaged in welding on to her old structures the newer political and economic forms of the West, in finding in her intellectual life a place for the discoveries of science with all their challenge to accepted modes of thought and practice.

This is a time, therefore, when interest, understanding and sympathy are vital from those especially who are leaders in science and in those kindred activities which have been so dominant a characteristic of western development in recent years.

When talking of civilizations it is difficult to dissociate a scientist from the background against which he works and from the effect of his work on the development of his times. The scientist has his place not only in the world of science but in society as a whole.

The backgrounds against which scientists in India and the West pursue their activities are vastly different and the possible effects on society from the impact of their discoveries on everyday life must inevitably vary.

But that difference in no way diminishes the value to us in India of the informed interest, advice and wide and varied experience of those who have seen the possibilities and the limitations of scientific activity in other spheres.

Your knowledge, your experience, your very aloofness from the Indian background will impart a special value to any analysis of the problems which confront us here, and to any suggestions, which, in the light of your deliberations, you may feel able to advance as to the directions in which investigation and examination can most fruitfully be pursued. Nor need I emphasise how great a source of encouragement it must be to those who have so unsparingly devoted themselves in this country to the problems which will come before you in your discussions, and to those broad general issues which are, in the scientific field, of such concern to all of us, to feel that in the West there is a growing body of enlightened opinion acquainted with the Indian scene, and understanding in some measure the efforts of India to solve her own problems in her own way.

But the value of the visit will not be felt on one side only.

Even the most enthusiastic believer in Western civilization must feel today a certain despondency at the apparent failure of the West to dominate its scientific discoveries and to evolve a form of society in which material progress and spiritual freedom march comfortably together.

Perhaps the West will find in India's more general emphasis on simplicity and the ultimate spirituality of things a more positive example of the truths which the most advanced minds of the West are now discovering.

Is it too much to hope that you, gentlemen, will be a channel through which India will make in increasing degree that contribution to Western and to world thought which those of us who know and love India are confident that she can make in so full a degree ?"

19. EUROPEANS' ROLE IN INDIA

Whatever the political complexion of the Government, they can look for the full and active support of European groups in the legislatures in all measures calculated to ensure the progress and betterment of the people. With this policy of the European Association, Lord Linlithgow expresses deep satisfaction. Jan. 3, 1938

Looking back over eight months of the working of Provincial Autonomy, Lord Linlithgow sees strong reasons for optimism and expresses the opinion that provincial ministries " have shown in a marked degree a sense of responsibility and a readiness to face the facts of the situations by which they may find themselves confronted." Extracts from a speech at the European Association dinner at Calcutta on January 3, 1938 :—

" Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, My Lord Bishop, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Let me say first how great a pleasure it is to Lady Linlithgow and myself to be present here tonight, and how much we appreciate the kindness of the European Association in extending their invitation to us. I know for how much the Association stands in the life of the European Community in India. I know, too, the good work which it has done over so long a period of years, and I have had myself first hand opportunities of observing the closeness with which the Association studied all those features of the work of the Joint Select Committee and of the deliberations in Parliament on the Government of India Bill which might in any way affect the interests of Europeans in this country, or be of concern to them.

The Association can look back with pride on a long record of useful work, and I feel sure that their record, distinguished as it has been in the past, is only a prelude to a further period in which, in the changed constitutional conditions of the present day, it will render service as valuable as any that it can claim to have performed hitherto.

You said, Mr. Chairman, that your members recognized that the Act gave them something of what they wanted. You said also that it did not give them everything for which they could have hoped. That, if I may say so, is no uncommon experience when one is dealing with an enactment covering so wide a field, and affecting issues of such great and diverse importance, as the Act of 1935.

For good or for ill the Act, as you have observed, is on the Statute Book. It is the instrument which governs the evolution

in the future that lies before us of the destinies of this country; and in determining to accept the facts as they are, to work the Act, and to make the greatest contribution they can to the prosperity and the advance of India and her people under the terms of that Act, your Association, and the great European community which it so ably represents, have shown the political wisdom, and the sense of values, one would have expected from them.....'

You remarked in your speech that you were able to say with confidence that the European community had succeeded in its efforts to help to ensure the working of the new Constitution and to see that the part assigned to the European in India was worthily played. You expressed the confident hope that that would continue to be the case. If I may say so, the short experience we have had of the working of the Act most fully and entirely bears out and supports your claim.

You have referred to the working of the new Provincial Governments. I need not say how great a satisfaction it is to me to think that we should have, in every province, governments commanding the support of a majority in their legislatures, governments which over the relatively short period since they have come into being can point to so much good work done.

I have lost no opportunity of establishing personal contact with responsible Ministers and leaders of political thought from those provinces. Given the great difficulties inherent in a radical change such as that represented by the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, all of us, Indian or European, and whatever our party affiliations, can feel that the working of this great experiment in the period of which we have now had experience reflects nothing but credit on those responsible.

It would not have been surprising had the new Governments, called on to carry for the first time the burden of administration, and to deal with the problems that confront the politician on whose shoulders falls the weight of office, encountered difficulties greater than any that have in fact been experienced.

Looking back over these eight months I see no reason whatever for dissatisfaction, or for apprehension as to the future working of the constitution. I see indeed good and strong reason for optimism. The Governments which hold power in the autonomous provinces have shown in a marked degree a sense of responsibility and a readiness to face the facts of the situations by which they may find themselves confronted.

Difficulties may lie ahead of us. But if such difficulties arise it is my confident and earnest hope that they will admit of being surmounted. I need not emphasize how important it is for the welfare of India that difficulties should be overcome, and that the new Constitution should continue to work with the smoothness and the ease which have marked the first few months of the operation of Provincial Autonomy.

You referred, Mr. Chairman, to the good work of the European Group in the Bengal Legislature and you laid emphasis on the importance of personnel. When I was in Calcutta a year ago, I ventured to express the hope that the great European commercial interests would be willing to spare the best men available to fill the seats assigned to European interests in the Provincial and the Central Legislatures.

I repeat it now that there are few ways in which a contribution of greater value can be made to safeguarding their own interests, than by sending as representatives to the legislatures, whether Central or Provincial, men of balanced judgment and experience, familiar with the problems with which they are dealing, and competent to speak with authority on the various aspects of those problems.

I would like to express my entire agreement too with the importance which you laid on the maintenance of close liaison between the representatives of your community in the Provincial and those in the Central Legislatures. . . .

It is in that way most assuredly that the community in any one province can feel certain that when those wider problems which fall within the sphere of the Central Legislature are under discussion, full weight is given to their importance from the point of view of the different Provinces, and full account taken of those aspects of those problems which may be of closer and more immediate concern to the Provinces than to the Centre.

I listened with deep satisfaction to your reiteration of the determination of your Association to implement the pledge which you have given that those who undertake the heavy responsibilities of Government, whatever may be their political complexion, can look for your full and active support in all measures calculated to ensure the progress and the betterment of the people of the provinces and of India. It is proper that that should be so.

You represent a community which has made a great and substantial contribution to the progress and prosperity of this country. You can look back with pride on the long association of Great Britain with India and her fortunes; and on the long record of service to which she can point; and it is but proper that in the circumstances of the present day, when Ministers are facing for the first time responsibilities, and are for the first time shouldering burdens such as have never in the past fallen upon them, they should be able to feel that in the efforts they make for the betterment of the health, for the material prosperity, and for the raising of the general level of the contentment and happiness of the population of this country, they can rely on the firm support of the European Community.

I am sure, Sir, that you were right when you remarked tonight that it is on the basis of the contented peasant that any firm and stable structure of Government either in India or elsewhere must ultimately rest. While I hold my present post it will be my effort to do all in my power to improve the condition of the agriculturist in any way properly open to me.

If during my time I can feel that I have contributed in however small a degree to the realisation of that object, I shall feel that I have been able to make, on however small a scale, some little contribution to the welfare of India and to the lightening of the burden on those who in the future are destined to play so important a rôle in the political and economic development of this country . . ."

20. "MY PROFESSIONAL PRIDE"

Jan. 5, 1938

"I doubt whether the world outside appreciates the extent to which, in almost every aspect of the life of the people, British institutions and British culture have, through the long years of our association with this country, come to be woven inextricably into the fabric of the India of today," says Lord Linlithgow in his speech at the Bengal Club Dinner at Calcutta on January 5, 1938.

Incidentally he speaks of the need of the economy of labour, but would not deliver "the same speech more than twice!" Extracts from the speech:

"Gentlemen, I am told that it is expected of me, or at least that I shall be forgiven for doing so, if I speak to you this evening for a few moments about politics.

All my life, I have been much opposed to hard work! Economy of labour is, and has long been, my chief ambition. Yet even I have not the hardihood to deliver, in the short space of three weeks, the same speech more than twice. That, as a matter of professional pride and not at all because I labour under the notion that anyone reads my speeches. Earlier in the week, I gave the European Association some of the reasons which lead me to the conclusion that the most important function of a public character that falls, under the new Constitution, to the duty of the European community, is their choice of the very best men available to represent them in the provincial legislatures and at the Centre. I have no doubt of that. Bengal and India need your help. I have not the least hesitation in assuring you that Indians of all political parties will welcome that help. Like all other communities or interests in a democratic country, you rightly expect your representatives in the legislature to be mindful of your own special concerns. But I hope you may never think it wise that your political activities should be confined to your own interests. Believe me, the notion of the British interest in India shrinking, degenerating, into that of a mere trading enclave, is a snare. If you come to be only that, you will very soon be nothing at all. It is vital to the future of this country, and vital too, to your own, that you should extend, rather than that you should contract, the area of your participation in the political life of this country, whether in the provincial or the all-India fields. Your advice, your experience, your sympathy are indeed essential over the whole field of government, and even if gratitude is not always noticeably vocal, you may rest assured that gratitude will be there.

Modern India derives from many different sources, not a few of which have in their origin been extraneous to this country. I doubt whether the outside world appreciates the extent to which, in almost every aspect of the life of the people, British institutions and British culture have, through the long years of our association with this country, come to be woven inextricably into the fabric of the India of today. The part and interest therefore, that your community may properly take in the national life extends into almost every branch of the legislative and administrative fields. As business men you are here to play your part in commerce and industry ; that of itself is a great service to this country. But you will not, I am sure, desire that your services should be confined to those functions. Rather you will desire that following in the footsteps of so many of our race who have made India their home—if only for a limited span—you should—individually and collectively—do your utmost to promote the welfare of the people as a whole, and the general advancement of India.

Send your best men to the provinces and to the Centre. Take each one of you a lively interest in the political problems of the day ! Maintain close contact between the two political spheres of the provinces and the Centre. Intensify your activities, but keep wide your horizons.

And if Bengal must not isolate herself from the wider India, let us remember that India cannot live apart from the environment of the larger world about her. Nor indeed can British policy in regard to India fail to take due account of the circumstances of the world. We may have, each one of us, our own opinions as to the nature and direction of those major events and formidable changes which today are taking place in every part of the globe. What no man can, I submit, afford to fail to apprehend is that the world is now entered upon one of those periods, of which history records other examples, in which there happens an immense quickening of those formative tendencies which, in calmer times operate so gently as hardly to be discernible. Mankind is on the march, and none of us may know whither it is that we are bound.

Such are the world circumstances with which we in India stand confronted. Those circumstances, or so I believe, afford the best of all reasons why we should have undertaken, when we did, the difficult and most anxious task of promoting constitutional reform in India, for those are the conditions in which it is imperative that we secure before it is too late, the greatest possible measure of political appeasement and of contentment in India.

Therefore, when—each one of you—you play your part here in India in promoting the success of the greatest and by far the boldest political experiment of which history holds record, you may feel that you are making your contribution towards the strengthening, throughout the world, of all those things which are most precious to you, and of which, by right of long centuries of British effort and achievement, you are the natural heirs and the proper guardians.

Well, we have managed somehow to establish Provincial Autonomy, and I am extremely well satisfied by the way it is going. Inevitably there are anxieties, and it goes without saying that the utmost vigilance must be maintained. You may rest assured that watchfulness will not be lacking. Meantime, I may tell you quite simply that I think the signs most promising. Now, we are busy upon Federation. I am amused to notice that in some quarters it is whispered that Lord Zetland and I are on the run about Federation. I suspect that hope has had a share in the percentage of that particular rumour. Let me tell you quite shortly how the position stands. If you look at the Act (and there is no more captivating volume of bedside literature) you will find that whereas that Instrument prescribes in utmost detail the structure of government in the autonomous Province, it is a good deal less informing when you come to those sections that deal with the Federal Structure. And the reason for this difference is not far to seek, for as regards the Federal part ot the Constitution its shape in certain important regards must depend upon arrangements made with the Indian States subsequent to the passing into law of the Act. It is upon those important, intricate and often difficult matters to which I have referred that I am at present engaged. I am always grateful for advice, and it is a commodity of which I am rarely found in short supply. When the issue of office acceptance was on the bill of fare, I was encouraged from many well-meaning quarters to do this, that, or the other.

In the outcome, our friends have been kind enough to approve the method of approach and the tactics which we employed. Once again, a good deal of advice is coming along. I for one am always glad to listen to that advice. My hope is that the method we are now pursuing with regard to Federation, may prove to be, as indeed I am convinced it is, that one best calculated to secure, at the earliest possible moment, the political unity of India.

Before I conclude—and I am immensely obliged to you for the patience with which you have heard me this evening—I should like to say one or two words about the labour situation here in Bengal and elsewhere. Let me at once say that I am well aware of how much has been done of recent years, by employers of labour, and by none more than by the European firms, to ameliorate the general conditions of the wage earners. Let me also tell you that I am perfectly well aware that in terms of discounting strikes, the experiences of recent months have shown that good conditions for the workers are by no means a panacea against labour troubles. That, so far as my knowledge goes, was very much the experience of employers in Great Britain in the earlier days of the movement towards better labour conditions. Without pretending to know much about labour and factory or mill conditions out here, it seems to me inevitable that, with an entirely illiterate labour force by nature highly emotional and volatile and therefore easily led by the agitator, and given the political background as it has existed, you should have had to face the conditions in regard to labour that have recently obtained. But be that as it may, you will, I feel sure, agree with me in regarding the

general amelioration of labour conditions, and in particular of housing conditions, as of the utmost importance. I need not, before an audience such as this, dilate upon the obvious relationship between political development and the problems of labour. Nor do I dream of suggesting that the principal motive impelling so many organisations to improve the conditions in which their employees live, has been what I may term the commercial motive. I know well that the greater number of employers are moved by a sincere desire, upon grounds of humanity, to better the lot of their fellow men.

Yet, as all of us know, it is not possible in practice, either in India or outside it, to dissociate the factor of the cost of improving the position of the workers from that of the financial position of the employing corporation. In this connection I may perhaps be allowed to say to you that I am sure that we shall find that during the phase of intense political activity upon which we are now embarked labour problems in India will inevitably intrude themselves from time to time upon the industrial scene. Nor do I doubt that by a process of adjustment and by the development of appropriate machinery of conciliation and the like, and through the extending experience of the wage earners themselves, means will be found to solve those problems. I am bold enough to hazard the guess that when you enter in your relations with labour upon that process of adjustment and of constructive evolution, it will come to be generally recognised that none will have done so much to promote a happy issue out of those anxious difficulties than those who have betimes undertaken, so far as the resources at their disposal made possible, a progressive policy designed to ameliorate the lives of those men and their families without whose arduous labour no industry can thrive."

21. THE EXCHANGE RATIO

Extract from the reply to Address of welcome from the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce at Madras on January 10, 1938. **Jan. 1938**

" Gentlemen of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, I realise that the field you cover is a wide one, and that you speak today not only on your own behalf, but on behalf of the members of the other Chambers to whom you refer in your Address. You remarked in the course of that address that your interest as members of Chambers of Commerce lies primarily in fostering trade and commerce, but that the march of events inevitably compels you to take an ever-increasing share in political matters. I appreciate your position ; and I welcome your assurance that it will always be your endeavour to do what lies in your power by co-operation with Government to promote peace and well-being. That is an assurance which is of real value, coming as it does from a body which represents such very substantial interests and at a time when, as you have also remarked, earnest and unremitting effort from all men of goodwill is an essential pre-requisite to the smooth and successful working of the new Constitution.

Gentlemen of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, I have always taken a close interest in the affairs of Madras, and I am glad to hear from you of the satisfactory progress of the province under the new autonomous Constitution.

You raised in your Address the question of the revision of the exchange value of the Rupee. That, I am well aware, is a matter in which much interest is taken, and I am fully alive to its general importance. I listened accordingly with close attention to the arguments and the suggestions contained in your Address. I do not, however, in the light of those arguments, agree that the Rupee is at present over-valued in terms of sterling, and, quite apart from that, he would, in my judgment, be a rash man who, looking round the world today, and observing how far from satisfactory are the conditions in those countries which have practised devaluation, persists in the contention that currency depreciation is a safe specific for economic ills. In this general matter of the exchange ratio I indicated in remarks which I made on a public occasion a couple of months ago that my Government had no intention whatever of disturbing the present ratio—a point which I regarded it as desirable to make abundantly clear—and further that I was convinced that its maintenance was the policy best calculated to serve the interests of India's agricultural population. That is the position, and that remains my view, today.

You urged in your Address the conclusion of trade agreements by the Government of India with the principal customer countries of India, and you remarked that the United Kingdom had concluded trade agreements with various countries in none of which, in your judgment, had the trade of India received fair treatment. Let me remind you that the character of the United Kingdom's trade with the countries in question, and the resulting balance of payment, present problems which are fundamentally different from India's relations with the same countries, and which are not susceptible of the same solution. As for your suggestion that India ought herself to safeguard her trade by making treaties with her principal customers, I would point out that we are already in active negotiations with our principal customer, the United Kingdom, for the promotion of an agreement of this nature, and this must in my judgment form an essential preliminary to any new arrangement with other countries. With our second most important customer, Japan, we have already made an agreement which regulates trade relations until 1940.

As regards coastal shipping, I would remind you that the position in relation to the most powerful of the Indian companies has been regulated by an agreement with the competing British companies under which a definite quota of trade is assured to it. Similarly, under the award made by Sir Joseph Bhore in 1934, the smaller steamship companies on the west coast of India are ensured 85 per cent of the trade.

As for the remarks which you have addressed to me in regard to the separation of Burma, I will only say that the arguments on both

sides were exhaustively canvassed both in India and in Burma before the decision to separate Burma from India was reached, and that it would, in my judgment, be most undesirable to make any effort to revive a controversy which the decision in question has finally settled. I am unaware in this connection that any cause for friction has arisen in regard to the actual working of the trade agreement with Burma; and indeed the evidence at my disposal goes to show that that agreement has given general satisfaction to the trading communities of both countries.

Gentlemen, the representatives of the Madras Chamber of Commerce in their Address this morning referred to the part played by Madras in the public affairs of the country, and they referred with legitimate pride to the position which this Presidency has for so long enjoyed in the domain of politics, and to the high degree of development of her institutions, social and cultural alike. I have no hesitation in subscribing to their claim that in the evolution of political sense and political responsibility Madras has achieved a measure of success which bears favourable comparison with progress elsewhere. I am quite sure that Madras can be depended upon, in the period that lies before us, to continue as in the past to make a contribution of real and substantial value to progress and development in the constitutional as well as in the material field."

22. NON-MUSLIM MINORITIES

Extract from reply to addresses of welcome from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India, the Indian Christian Association, Madras, and the Madras Provincial Scheduled Castes Federation, at Madras on January 10, 1938. **Jan. 10, 1938**

" Gentlemen of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India :— I listened with close interest to what you told me of the work of your Association. I am glad to think that that Association, now of such long standing, should be celebrating its Diamond Jubilee next year ; and I listened with the utmost interest and satisfaction to the information you give me as to the steps which it has taken throughout its long career for the improvement of the educational level of the members of the community. I am quite sure that today, and in the past, your Association has been wise to concentrate as it has done on maintaining a high educational level among its members. The importance of education grows every day, and I am confident that the course which you have pursued in this matter will bring its own reward. I am glad, too, to think that the record of the community in sport should have been so distinguished.

I note, and appreciate, your anxiety that your interests in the various branches of Government service should be safeguarded. I feel sure that the considerations you mention and to which you have now given special publicity in the Address which you have just presented to me are fully present to those with whom responsibility rests for decisions in these matters.

Gentlemen of the Indian Christian Association :— I listened with particular pleasure to the statement made in your Address that whatever anxieties you might feel in regard to the future of your Community, you will take to the Government of your Province, in whose even-handed justice you have every confidence. I am glad today, when Provincial Autonomy has been in operation for the best part of a year, to hear that tribute from so important a minority community as that represented by your Association. Nothing could speak better for the cordial and friendly nature of the relations which have been established over the period in question. I thank you, too, for your friendly reference to my interest in Agriculture. I am never tired of emphasizing the immense importance of the agriculturist in the Indian economic system, and the essential necessity, in the interests of industry no less than those of agriculture, of doing all that lies in our power to raise his standard of living, and to remove such legitimate grievances as he may feel.

Let me say on behalf of my wife how greatly she appreciates your kind message to her, and your expression of sympathy with the efforts she is making for the betterment of India's womanhood, and for the relief of sickness and distress in this great country.

Gentlemen of the Madras Provincial Scheduled Castes Federation : —I listened with interest and sympathy to the representations you have addressed to me. You will not, I am sure, expect me on an occasion such as this to enter into a discussion of the various matters to which you have referred, some of which are by no means free from controversy. I will content myself with a reference to one point on which you touch in your Address, and that is the grant of increased representation to your community in the Upper House of the Provincial Legislature. As you are aware, the Schedules to the Act make no provision for the provision of seats in the Madras Legislative Council for members of the Scheduled Castes similar to that made in respect of seats in the Assembly. On the other hand, His Excellency the Governor is given power under the Act to nominate in his discretion to the Legislative Council not less than 8 and not more than 10 Members. As I understand the position His Excellency has already nominated 9 Members, and of those 9, one, Diwan Bahadur Srinivasan, is a member of the Scheduled Castes. I cannot feel, even given the large numbers of the Scheduled Castes in this Presidency, that in these circumstances it can be contended that their interests have been allowed to go by default in the Upper House, or that they have not received a measure of representation which, having regard to the claims of other interests and communities, can be regarded as other than substantial.

Gentlemen, I thank you all again very warmly indeed. It is a great pleasure to have seen you today, and it is a source of much satisfaction to me to receive today these Addresses of welcome from bodies so representative of interests so important as those for which you stand."

23. MADRAS MUSLIM ORGANISATIONS

Extract from reply to addresses of welcome at Madras from the Mohamedan Educational Association of Southern India, the Madras Muslim League, and the Anjumane-Mufidc-Ahle-Islam of Madras on January 10, 1938. **Jan. 10, 1938**

"Gentlemen of the Mohamedan Educational Association:—I congratulate you warmly on the good work which your Association has done over the last 35 years, and I congratulate you and those who have gone before you on the foresight manifested by you in concentrating on this issue of education. I wholly agree with you as to its great importance for the future of India and for the future of her various communities. And I am very glad to think that the response to the efforts you have made should have been so successful, and that you should be able to point to so large a number of students in receipt of scholarships from your Association. I appreciate your desire to secure such additional concessions with a view to a still further improvement in the pace of the educational progress in your community as may be practicable, though I am very conscious that in dealing with requests such as those to which you refer a Government has many considerations to take into account.

Gentlemen of the Muslim League, you have been good enough to pay a tribute to my deep and sincere anxiety to do what I can during my period of office in this country to improve the lot of the agriculturist. I would like to correct one misapprehension under which you appear to labour in this connection. I am I fear entirely unable to agree with you as to the case for the modification of the rupee ratio; or to accept your suggestion that the maintenance of the existing ratio lies at the bottom of our economic problems. As I have already made clear in my reply to an address from another deputation, my Government have no intention of disturbing the present ratio; and I am myself convinced that its maintenance is the policy best calculated to serve the interests of India's agricultural population.

You have referred in your address to the apprehension entertained by certain Muslims that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Act of 1935 is calculated to be injurious if not fatal to the vital interests of British India. That, if I may venture to say so, can only be the result of a misunderstanding of the nature of the scheme and of the positive results which are likely to result from its introduction and the implementing of its provisions. I can claim in this matter to speak with a close familiarity with the subject in all its aspects, and with the long discussions in Parliament and in the Joint Select Committee from which the scheme of Federation emerged, and I have no hesitation in my conclusion as to the positive and marked importance in the interests of India as a whole of the early realisation of the Federal scheme.

Gentlemen of the Anjuman-e-Islam, you can point to a long and useful record of service to your great community; and I am

glad to think that over the period during which your Association has been in being, now more than half a century, you should have made so valuable a contribution to the welfare of the members of that community. I am glad, too, to think that throughout that period you should have had the co-operation and the generous support, to which you refer in such appreciative terms, not only of the Government of the day but of the other communities, Indian and European alike; and the buildings in Madras, which you have mentioned—the Lawley Hall and the Goschen Hostel—are public evidence of the good work which you have done. Let me, too, express my warm appreciation of the excellent work of your Industrial School and of your public spirited and charitable activities in connection with the maintenance of destitute Muslim boys under the provisions of the Madras Children's Act of 1920. I am glad to think that despite the generous contribution which you have made to the alleviation of distress and to the educational advancement of the Muslim Community in Madras, your financial position should be as satisfactory as you tell me that it is. You have my sincere and earnest good wishes for the future progress of the admirable public work on which you are engaged."

24. SOUTH INDIA EUROPEANS

Jan. 10, 1938.

Lord Linlithgow expressed pleasure that while the South Indian branch of the European Association found themselves "unable to accord political support" to the then Government of Madras, they emphasised the friendly relations existing between the Association and the Government. Extract from reply to the addresses of welcome presented by the European Association and the United Planters' Association of Southern India on January 10, 1938 at Madras:—

"Let me thank you very warmly, Gentlemen, for the kind and appreciative references which you have been good enough to make to my work. I well remember the invaluable assistance given by the representatives of the European Association in connection with the discussions, whether in the Joint Select Committee or in Parliament, preliminary to the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935. Let me say, too, how glad I am to think from the remarks made both by the spokesman of the European Association and by the spokesman of the Planters' Association, that relations between the great interests which you represent in South India and the Provincial Government should be friendly and cordial. Nothing could be a greater tribute to the nature of that relation than the statement made by you, Sir, on behalf of the Planters' Association that 'in matters of a more provincial nature, we are ever assured of sympathy and assistance from the various Provinces and States of South India where our plantations are situated.' And I note with pleasure, too, that while the European Association find themselves unable to accord political support to the present Government of Madras, they emphasize the friendly relations which exist between the Association and the

Government; and that they emphasize, too, the extent to which they are ready and willing to co-operate in all matters affecting the welfare and development of this country. It is, I am quite confident, along the line of co-operation, and of a readiness, in the pursuit of the common welfare, to sink differences on points of detail where no issue of principle is involved, that the true and only road of progress lies.

My wife and I are very glad to think that she should have your support and your sympathy for the Appeal which she has made in connection with the King Emperor's Fund. That there is a great need, no one can doubt; and it is our earnest hope that the response to the Appeal which has now been made will result throughout India in a really substantial contribution to preventive and curative measures for dealing with Tuberculosis."

25. A HISTORIC STATE

Extract from reply to the toast at the State Banquet at Hyderabad on January 18, 1938. **Jan. 18, 1938**

"It has always been my desire to visit this historic State, whose connections with the British Government have been so close and intimate almost from the beginning, and this desire was naturally enhanced after my first meeting with the Nizam a year ago in Calcutta.

Your Exalted Highness has been kind enough to refer in very complimentary terms to my work and to my qualifications for the high office which I have the honour to hold. I think that the survey which Your Exalted Highness has given tonight of the many activities of your Government fairly enables me to return the compliment. They show an anxiety for the amelioration of your subjects, both urban and rural, and a desire to give practical effect to schemes for that amelioration, of which any Ruler might well be proud. The measures which have been taken for the alleviation of rural indebtedness and the improvement of rural conditions generally have, perhaps, a particular appeal to me, but so also have the steps taken for the improvement of the public health; and I should like to acknowledge publicly the munificent response given by Your Exalted Highness' Government to Lady Linlithgow's Anti-Tuberculosis Appeal. It is particularly gratifying to me to think that, even before that appeal was launched, this subject had engaged Your Exalted Highness' attention, and that schemes for combating this scourge were already well under way.

I rejoice to know that congenial spheres of employment have been found for Your Exalted Highness' sons and that they are both taking a keen and practical interest in their work.

In other fields of administration, I notice the recognition of the need for a more practical trend in education; the successful co-ordination of Railway and road services, which has long been and still is a most difficult problem both in Europe and India; the

construction of large public works and the improvement of communications; the sound financial condition of the State which has made all these things possible; and the tendency to an increasing association of your subjects with local and general administration. All these facts inspire me with the belief that Your Exalted Highness and your Government are fully alive to the responsibilities and the opportunities for progress which belong to governments everywhere.

Your Exalted Highness has alluded at the end of your speech to the increasing part that is being played by Hyderabad in all-India affairs. I rejoice to see this, and I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging—as was also done by my distinguished predecessor Lord Willingdon—the important part played by the Hyderabad Delegation, headed by Sir Akbar Hydari, in the deliberations that led up to the passing of the Government of India Act.

I do not propose on the present occasion to enter into any long exposition of my views on the matter of Federation. Those views are well known to Your Exalted Highness and to the other Members of the Princely Order; and you are well aware of the steps I have taken in the past to dissipate misunderstandings on this all-important question and to bring about at the earliest practicable date the Federation of India. I feel sure that the wise statesmanship and the great experience of Your Exalted Highness and your Advisers will direct you in the decision to be reached by you on this matter."

Feb. 22, 1938

26. RESIGNATION OF TWO MINISTRIES

Text of Lord Linlithgow's statement as Governor-General on February 22, 1938, on the resignation of the Congress Ministries in Bihar and the United Provinces. (Some other statements, presented by the Secretary of State for India to Parliament in a White Paper in February 1938, will be found in the Appendix.)

" The history of the difficulties which have arisen in the United Provinces and Bihar in connection with the release of prisoners described as political prisoners is well known. In both Provinces discussions regarding the release of prisoners in this class have, for some time past, been proceeding between Ministers and Governors; and Governors throughout made it clear that they were ready and willing to examine individual cases and would not stand in the way of release, unless where circumstances were clearly such as to involve responsibilities laid upon them by the Act. The principle of individual examination was well established over many months in Provinces where Congress is in power. It was equally established in other Provinces, and Mr. Gandhi himself has proceeded on this basis in his recent discussions with the Government of Bengal. It was thus no new thing.

Discussions regarding release after examination of individual cases were still proceeding, when on 14th February a demand was tendered by the Premiers of Bihar and the United Provinces for immediate general release of all prisoners classed as 'political' in those two Provinces. In the case of Bihar that demand, received by the

Governor at 1 P.M., called for action by the Chief Secretary in this case by 4 P.M. the same day. In the case of the United Provinces the time limit set for compliance was, also, brief to a degree. In the case of Bihar the Premier made it clear that as a matter of principle he could not agree to individual examination. In the case of the United Provinces, after much discussion Ministers made it clear that a policy of gradual and individual release would not satisfy them.

The prisoners in question are almost without exception persons convicted of violence or of preparation for specific acts of violence, by normal criminal courts. The nature of their offences has been indicated sufficiently in the statements issued by the Governors. Their record is such that individual examination was called for, not merely for the reason I have given, but in the interest of public safety, and that examination was equally essential in the interest of maintenance of sanctions of law, and of authority and position of courts.

In these circumstances, having regard to the responsibilities which, under the Constitution, are placed upon the Governor-General, the Governors of both Provinces, after consulting their Ministers, referred for my instructions the advice which their Ministers had tendered. Having regard to the circumstances described above ; to the essential necessity of considering the reaction on adjoining Provinces of the release of these prisoners ; and to the fact that acceptance of the principle that terrorist convicts should be indiscriminately released without regard to individual considerations would be highly dangerous, and in view of the history of terrorism in the past could not fail to give impetus to fresh terrorist organisation in Bengal, careful consideration left me with no choice but to conclude that issues involved were such that it was incumbent on me to issue an instruction to those Governors under provisions of section 126 (5) of the Act. That section empowers the Governor-General to issue orders to Governors of Provinces as to the manner in which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of India or of any part thereof. To acquiesce in the immediate and indiscriminate release of prisoners with records of violent crime would have been to strike a blow at the root of law and order in India ; dangerously to threaten peace and good government, and to run a grave risk to peace and tranquillity ; all the more so since this categorical demand took no account of possible reactions of certain releases on the position elsewhere, or of the reiterated readiness of Governors to examine individual cases.

The Governors, on receipt of my instructions, informed their Ministers that they could not accept their advice on this matter. The Ministers therefore tendered their resignation.

The Governors concerned, and I, so far as I am concerned, have done our utmost over the last seven months to work in harmonious co-operation with the Congress Ministers of both these Provinces and all possible help has been lent them. There has been no foundation over that period for any suggestion that it is the policy, or desire, of the Governor-General or of the Governors to impede or interfere with legitimate activities of these Ministries, or to take any step the necessity

for which was not imposed upon them by the terms of the Act. That is equally true today.

I have made it clear that in issuing the instructions I did, I had no hesitation in feeling that a grave menace to the basis of law and order, and so to the peace and tranquillity of India, would have been involved in acceptance by the Governors of demands of such an order presented to them in such a manner.

As regards the particular issue of the release of prisoners, so far as the Governors are concerned there is no going back on the policy of readiness to examine individual cases, and the Governors remain ready to agree to release after examination, where no undue risk in their own Province, or in other Provinces, is involved. There is no impropriety, whatever may be suggested to the contrary, in their requiring such individual examination, or in their declining without it to accept the advice of their Ministers. Ministers are responsible for law and order. But they are so responsible under the Act subject to the responsibility of Governors to ensure the peace and tranquillity of their own Province; and the Governors are bound to have in mind the corresponding responsibility that falls on the Governor-General for the peace and tranquillity of India or any part thereof. Neither a Governor nor the Governor-General will wish to see his responsibility attracted, but, as I made clear in my message of last June, where that responsibility is in fact attracted, neither the Governor nor the Governor-General can shrink from discharging it.

Finally, and this I wish particularly to emphasise, there is no foundation for the suggestion that the action I have taken is dictated by a desire to undermine the position of Congress Ministries. The record of the last seven months should have made it abundantly clear that the Governors and I myself are only too anxious to lend all assistance that we properly can within the framework of the Act to any Ministry in power in a Province. Neither the Governors nor the Governor-General have any desire to interfere, or any intention of interfering with the legitimate policy of a Congress or any other Government. The action taken was designed to safeguard the peace and tranquillity of India and, incidentally, to uphold the sanctions of law and orderly functioning of the constitutional machine. That action leaves it open to Ministers, in consultation with the Governors, to pursue a policy of release of prisoners, and they need anticipate no difficulty now, any more than in the past, in securing the friendly and ready co-operation of the Governors in individual examination. I am glad to think that in no quarter is there manifest any disposition to extend the area of difficulty beyond the limits of the position which I have described, and it is my sincere and earnest hope that it may shortly be possible to return to normality and that in the two Provinces most concerned Ministers in discussion with the Governors may find themselves able to resume their interrupted labours." *

* The Ministers discussed the position with the Governors and resumed their labours.

27. PRESENTATION OF PHOTOGRAPH OF ROYAL FAMILY

Speech in presenting a photograph of the Royal Family to the Indian Signal Corps at Jubbulpore on March 2, 1938. **Mar. 2, 1938**

"Brigadier Hitchins, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the Indian Signal Corps,—It is a great pleasure to me to be able to come here today to present this photograph of the Royal Family, on behalf of Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal, your Colonel-in-Chief, and to convey to you the message with which Her Royal Highness has charged me on this occasion. That message is as follows: 'My best wishes as Colonel-in-Chief of a Corps of which I am proud will accompany the photograph which will be presented to you today by His Excellency the Viceroy. It gave me great pleasure to see in England the representative members of my Corps who were present on the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor.'

The photograph and Her Royal Highness's gracious message will serve as a happy reminder of the visit to England of those of you who went as representatives of India's Signal Corps and took part in the Coronation ceremonies. The close and constant personal interest taken by Their Majesties and by Her Royal Highness in the welfare of the Corps and all that concerns it is well known to you.

I shall report to the Princess Royal that I have visited you here and that I have presented this portrait on her behalf and conveyed to you her gracious message. I shall tell Her Royal Highness that I found the Corps in every way worthy of the honour of her association with it and I shall be glad to send to her on your behalf any message which you may wish to give."

28. "ROYAL TIGER"

The service in Canada, the West Indies and America, in the Crimea, in South Africa, in Afghanistan and India of the Leicestershire Regiment was recalled in presenting new colours to the First Battalion of the Regiment at Jubbulpore on March 2, 1938:— **Mar. 2, 1938**

"Colonel Pinder, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and men of the 1st Battalion, the Leicestershire Regiment,—I consider it a great privilege to be here this morning to present, on behalf of His Majesty, these new Colours to your Battalion. The ceremony today has more than usual significance as you are this year celebrating the 250th anniversary of your Regiment. Yours is a long and proud history. Your Regiment has served with distinction in all parts of the world—in Canada, the West Indies and America; in the Crimea; in South Africa; and then again in Afghanistan. But it is with India that your Regiment has been particularly associated. It is not for me to remind you that the Royal Tiger, which is your Badge, was granted as "a lasting testimony of the exemplary conduct of the Corps during the period of its service in India from 1804 to 1823." It is therefore appropriate that these new Colours should be presented by

His Majesty's Representative in the country with whose history your own is linked.

These Colours like others presented in recent years bear the names of the campaigns of the Great War during which the Leicestershire Regiment served with distinction in many spheres. These are honours won by the courage and devotion to duty of all ranks of your Regiment and I am confident that the spirit of the Regiment which has triumphed in arduous service over so many years and has endured the grim years of the Great War will continue in the younger generation now in the ranks. I trust that the time may be far distant when your powers of courage, endurance and service will be put to so severe a test. But, should the occasion arise, I do not doubt that the same spirit will be there.

Let me add one more word. The reputation of a Regiment depends on its bearing not only on the battlefield but also in times of peace when duties are less spectacular though no less important. You are here to preserve peace—a task which requires in full measure all the qualities of discipline, dignity and tact. Remember and I am confident you will—that the honourable performance of your duties in peace time just as much as in the more arduous times of war can add to the already high reputation of your Regiment."

29. N.W.F.P. MAKES UP LEEWAY

April 19, 1938

" A Viceroy's thoughts can never be far away from the North-West Frontier Province," says Lord Linlithgow replying to the address of welcome from the Peshawar Municipal Committee on April 19, 1938, " and they naturally centre often on Peshawar, for if the Frontier Province is rightly called the gateway of India, Peshawar is the key of that gateway, and everything that affects its interests and its good name must be of concern to those responsible for the administration of this great country." Proceeding :—

" I need not now go into the reasons which led to the extension of Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province at a later date than other Provinces. But the Province has been quick to make up its lee-way, and the late Legislature and the Legislature which has been elected under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, both afford eloquent proof of the speed of political development and the good use to which the opportunities afforded by the new Constitution have been turned.

It is incidentally a result of the new Constitution that the composition of your Committee is now decided entirely by election. As you point out in your address this change in your constitution has placed an even heavier burden on you than before. But I most warmly commend the determination which you have expressed in your address to carry that burden.

I do not overlook that that very responsibility to the electorate is not without its drawback to the extent that public men may have

on occasion to make up their mind to follow a line which they themselves know to be right but which may be a possible cause of losing popularity with their supporters. But in the long run it is the man who follows the dictates of his conscience who will be the real leader of his community or his country, and that applies as much to local administration as to the wider spheres of Government.

I have noted what you tell me of the difficulties which at present beset the commercial community at Peshawar who have for so many years enjoyed a favoured position in the import and export trade with Afghanistan.

You will realise that these difficulties arise mainly from the legitimate desire of the Afghan Government to conserve the profits of their external and internal trade and to strengthen their economic position in the world.

My Government are giving anxious consideration to the problem in order to discover whether anything can be done to assist the Peshawar traders without interfering with the internal policy of an independent and friendly neighbour ; and they hope that conversations will shortly be held with a representative of the Afghan Government, in which the existing situation will be discussed, and remedies satisfactory to both parties will be sought.

It is not possible for me to say more until those conversations have taken place. I understand that the views of your representatives have already been placed before the Government of India ; but I have no doubt that the Afghan Representative, if he visits India, will also be ready to discuss matters with your representatives, and you can rely on the Government of India to place no obstacles in the way of such an interchange of views.

Let me again thank you on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself very warmly for the welcome you have extended to me today and for the very kind remarks which you have been good enough to make about my interest in the advancement and the welfare of this great country.

The Anti-Tuberculosis Appeal which Lady Linlithgow has made on behalf of the King-Emperor's Fund is designed to meet a real and crying need and to help in the solution of a problem the acuteness of which is only now beginning to be fully appreciated. It is my sincere trust that the response to that appeal will be on a very generous scale. Ninety-five per cent. of all the sums raised fall to be spent within the Province, and the opening afforded for a real and significant contribution to the problem of Tuberculosis treatment and prevention in the North-West Frontier Province is a great one.

I thank you, too, for your reference to my interest in agriculture, and for the kind words which you have been good enough to use about my association with the development of the Constitution.

The first stage of that Constitution has come into being, and while there may be ups and downs, and while difficulty and anxiety may from time to time arise, on a broad view we can claim that the first

year of Provincial Autonomy has worked well and that Provincial Legislatures have shown imagination and responsibility in a high degree. The coping stone of the edifice as it is prescribed in the Government of India Act is still to be fixed in place.

But I am glad to say that the long period of work preparatory to the implementing of Federation is now drawing rapidly to a close.

No effort will be spared on my part or on the part of His Majesty's Government to expedite the realisation of that great ideal the achievement of which is calculated to promote the unity of India and to advance the welfare of her interests."

30. A SATISFYING OCCUPATION

April 23, 1938

Speech at the opening of the Malakand Hydro-Electric Scheme on April 23, 1938 :—

"Your Excellency, Dr. Khan Sahib and Gentlemen,—Before declaring this Scheme open I must, first, very briefly, express my great pleasure not only in visiting Malakand, full as it is from the earliest times of historic associations, but also at being present on this particular occasion of the opening of the Malakand Hydro-Electric Scheme, which, you will agree, is another example of those solid achievements which, like great milestones, mark the inspiring history of constructive engineering in India.

Although, as Mr. Oram said, the idea of generating electricity in Malakand is an old one, it is doubtful whether even now it would have taken practical shape but for the enthusiasm and engineering genius of Mr. Burkitt, whose work, as we all know, has left its mark on so many different parts of the North-West Frontier. The completion of a great work such as this is cause for congratulation not only of those in whose minds the idea originally germinated but of those who were responsible for planning and carrying out the actual construction of the work. I would like particularly to mention Mr. Ross, who has been in charge during the anxious period of construction, and who is to be congratulated on the speed and smoothness with which the work has been carried out. Mr. Arnall's death last summer after a long illness, patiently borne, was a serious blow to the Scheme, and I would mention here that at the conclusion of this ceremony I shall unveil a memorial tablet in his memory. I would like, too, to congratulate Mr. Oram and all his staff who have been concerned either with the purely electrical part of the Scheme or with the civil works connected with it.

While congratulating you all I must confess to a certain amount of mild jealousy. An engineer's always seems to me to be one of the most satisfying of occupations. You plan, you labour, and in due course the results are before your eyes in concrete—usually in more senses than one—form. You watch, you improve, you possibly build again—all these with a reasonable confidence that unless some unforeseen disaster overtakes you your work will remain

and function properly. As a politician and an administrator I cannot but envy you that confidence.

It is not for me to expatiate at length on the benefits that will accrue from this Scheme, but the possibilities of development consequent on this supply of cheap power are fascinating. I would only mention that with this supply of energy there seems considerable scope for the development of industries such as the establishment of sugar factories ; cotton, wool and flour mills ; ginning and baling plants. The power can also be used for the irrigation of land uncommanded by canals on the lines of experiments which have been carried on with success in other Provinces in India. But while the inauguration of a Scheme such as this with all its great potentialities should provoke enthusiasm and initiative, it is also a time for caution. Schemes fraught with such possibilities of beneficial development are often spoiled by the adoption of short-sighted policy in control. I trust that it will not be taken amiss if, speaking from my experience as a business man and as an administrator, I touch on one or two points which seem to me of importance. The first is the question of staff. While I fully appreciate the very natural desire to give preference to local men when the question of employment arises, I cannot over-emphasize the necessity for entertaining the experienced and efficient staff essential to rapid development, and the danger of sacrificing efficiency to other interests. To recruit any thing but the best material available would be dangerously short-sighted. And equally it would be dangerously short-sighted to hope for a quick return by charging high rates in the initial stages. Such a course would inevitably stifle development, and I am sure that the wiser course will be to start with cheap rates to encourage prospective consumers. I make these suggestions because I feel, and I am confident you will agree, that it will be more than unfortunate if for avoidable reasons this Scheme was not used and developed to the maximum of its obviously great potentiality."

31. AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

Co-ordination in matters of common concern to autonomous provinces and States was fostered during Lord Linlithgow's regime through conferences called at the initiative of the Central Government. Lord Linlithgow's speech in opening a conference of Ministers on agricultural marketing at New Delhi on November 29, 1938 :— **Nov. 29, 1938**

" Gentlemen,—I am glad to welcome to the Capital this very representative gathering of Ministers from the Provinces of British India and from the Indian States. Your attendance here today, and many of you have travelled far in order to be with us, is welcome proof of the importance you attach to the subject of Agricultural Marketing. Let me say at once that your interest will be an immense encouragement to all in the Government of India who have been associated with this most important aspect of agricultural improvement.

Sir Jagdish Prasad has referred to my past experience in the field of agricultural marketing. In Great Britain my colleagues and I signed the last of our five reports on the Distribution and Prices of Agricultural Produce in November 1923. These reports led, in 1924, to the setting up of the Marketing branch of the Ministry of Agriculture and in 1928 Parliament passed the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act. I mentioned this because it is of interest to notice that in Great Britain it took about 5 years to get under way from the moment of the initial impulse.

In India, as Sir Jagdish has reminded us, the Royal Commission on Agriculture, reporting in 1928, stressed the great importance of Agricultural Marketing and linked it with transportation. In 1934 the Provincial Economic Conference led to the initiation of the present marketing scheme under which the Government of India provide a central staff now consisting of 20 officers, while the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has provided ten lakhs of rupees spread over a period of five years to meet part of the cost of Provincial Marketing Staffs. These grants were made in order that the all-India commodity surveys might be carried out on an uniform basis. But it is worthy of comment that, at each stage, there has been spontaneous co-operation from the autonomous Provinces and States. Each provincial Government has from the outset, at its own cost, provided a Provincial Marketing Officer to take charge of the provincial section of the work; and several Governments have provided additional marketing staff and, more recently, have taken over some of the experimental developments such as grading stations. Many of the States, of whom no less than 220 have co-operated in this matter, have provided their own marketing staffs, and they have all readily collaborated with the Central Marketing Staff both in the commodity surveys and in such practical matters as marking and grading. In 1937 the Central Legislature passed the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, and it is significant to notice that in India this stage was reached about three years after Mr. Livingstone's arrival and rather less than two years from the completion of the Marketing Staff. In England, as I have told you, a period of five years elapsed between the setting up of the Marketing branch and the passage into law of the first Marketing Act. It is, I think, encouraging to note that despite the formidable complications and diversities of the Indian marketing system, merchants and market men in this country have shown themselves just as ready as their brethren in the West to avail themselves of well thought out marketing improvements. The position today is that six marketing reports are now complete, and that a further four are well advanced. In congratulating all concerned upon the very promising beginning that has thus been achieved, I feel that I must affirm my conviction, born of my own considerable experience, that adequate preliminary surveys are essential to the construction of sound schemes of marketing. Careful economic reconnaissance is an essential preliminary of every sound scheme, and I would confidently recommend all who are responsible for the construction of such schemes to count neither time nor money wasted which are spent in prosecuting with

zeal and efficiency these essential preliminary studies. In work of this nature, anxious as we all of us naturally are to improve producers' prices, it is seldom wise to attempt the short cuts. Rough and ready methods may seem at the outset to give quick results, but those are not the results that will stand the test of time. Organized marketing means the application of scientific methods to the problems of collection and distribution. That is why emphasis is laid on the importance of basing all future action on an adequate assembly of tested facts. Again, in using those facts and in drawing deductions from them, the scientific is the only safe method, which is to mistrust each conclusion until it has been subjected to every possible test.

In India an important stage has now been reached for many marketing surveys have been completed or are well advanced, and broad conclusions have emerged which call for application on a wide scale. It is satisfactory to note that Central and Provincial Staffs did not wait the completion of the all-India commodity reports before studying the possibilities of development. At a comparatively early stage the necessity of certain lines of improvement became clear. The standardisation of weights and measures, a wider adoption of the system of regulated markets, which had already proved its value in some parts of India, a fact emphasised by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, are recommendations common to all the reports. It was also apparent from the outset that grading and standardisation would offer a fruitful field for development and in consequence, on the recommendation of the Provincial Economic Conference of 1934, the preliminary studies on quality necessary for the consideration of grade standards were started simultaneously with the marketing surveys. This stage was followed by the setting up of experimental grading stations for such commodities as fruit, eggs and hides and skins which the surveys showed to be susceptible of such treatment. It was speedily found that, as in other countries, legislative action was needed to protect the marks, and as Sir Jagdish Prasad has said, the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act directed to that purpose was passed by the Central Legislature in February 1937.

It is of interest to note that the total number of experimental grading stations now in operation is about 25.

Standardisation, the determination of grades, is more than agreement on convenient categories of physical attributes—size, colour, purity, water or fat content, and the like. Standards must be very definitely related to the requirements of the consumer, that is to the saleability of the produce. Standardisation is a pre-requisite of effective advertisement. Standardisation, the determination and strict adherence to grades, is a key to distant markets, and—given improved world conditions—a sure road to expanding business. But marketing organizations can do something beyond promoting the orderly and economic distribution and sale of primary produce. An efficient marketing organization should be the grower's intelligence bureau. Often you will find that the cultivator, who cannot himself be in touch with distant and overseas markets, will prefer a crop, or a particular

variety of some crop, because of its agricultural advantage, that is because it is easy to grow, or because it matures at a convenient moment in the seasonal routine of the holding, or appears to give a particularly heavy yield. Sometimes, indeed, a variety will be sown in deference to mere local fashion and familiarity. But the Marketing Officer, who knows the requirements of the ultimate markets and the prices ruling in those markets, is quite frequently in a position to advise the cultivator that he will increase his prospects of profit by growing some variety other than that one which seems to possess the highest agricultural advantage. Evidently this function of a marketing service may be of great value in conditions in which world markets in terms of the relative demand for different kinds of primary produce is—for one reason or another—in a state of change and uncertainty. Causes so different as the development of synthetic substitutes, or the economic aftermath of a war may substantially promote the demand for one type of produce at the expense of some other. Consider how much loss may be spared to the grower if his marketing organisation —what I have called his intelligence bureau—is able to provide him with very early warning of such a change in demand.

The improvement of marketing offers a fruitful field for co-operation between the Central Government, Provinces and States. The development of marketing, in the main, falls within the provincial sphere, but the main problems are of a wider character. Though the production of many commodities is localised, but the areas of concentration are scattered throughout the country and are not confined to any particular Province or State, the consumption of a product is generally spread over the whole country and many are of all-India importance both as regards our internal and export trade. Wider issues relating to the finance of the primary producer are also involved, since marketing reforms are essential before the commercial banks can fully develop a system of short-term produce advances. In the report of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India for 1936 it is stated that short-term advances for marketing produce should be regarded as one of the most important parts of banking business, but that the commercial banks have hitherto been unable to develop produce advances to the extent of their capacity owing to the extraordinary diversification and vagueness of market conditions throughout India and the manner in which produce contracts are drawn. In this connection, the Report stresses the importance of the following improvements in marketing, machinery and practice: (*i*) a reasonable standardisation of the staples and of the contracts relating to them; (*ii*) the provision, in properly regulated markets and elsewhere, of suitable storage under conditions which would permit of proper insurance; and (*iii*) the establishment where possible and advisable of properly-regulated forward markets permitting of 'hedging' and thus to the mitigation of violent market fluctuations. It is therefore satisfactory to note that an agreement has been reached with the principal trade associations for standard future contracts for wheat and linseed, and that discussions are well advanced in regard to standards for groundnuts and coffee. Equally to be welcomed is the

progress now being made in several provinces with legislation for the setting up or improvement of regulated markets. As progress is made with these two items, the consideration of the establishment of more adequate terminal or future markets would be possible. To what extent provinces will, in future, require assistance from a central marketing staff in this and cognate matters is one of the matters which the Conference will consider."

32. ADVICE TO LANDLORDS

Extracts from Lord Linlithgow's reply at a dinner given at Darbhanga by the Maharajadhiraja on December 11, 1938 :— **Dec. 11, 1938**

"....I am well aware of the great territorial interests which you, Maharajadhiraja, represent. You have referred in your speech to my strong desire to assist the advance of the rural community to a fuller life: and you know of my own deep and abiding feeling for the countryside and the close interest which I have always taken in the welfare of the land and in the prosperity of those connected with it. I am delighted in these circumstances to meet here tonight so many representatives of great land-owning families representing long traditions in their various provinces. This is not the occasion for a political speech, and following your example I do not propose to talk politics tonight. But I shall not I think be straying beyond the appropriate limits if I refer in two words to the great importance of the landed interest, its potentialities for good, and the contribution which it is in a position to make to the welfare of the countryside—whether in terms of the improvement of the condition of tenantry, or in terms of the development of natural resources and the introduction of up-to-date appliances and methods of farming. Very much has I know been done in this direction already by enlightened landlords. Much must inevitably remain to be done in a country of the size of India, a country distinguished by such varieties of soil, climate and agricultural problems, and I am sure that you, Gentlemen, with your great experience and your great responsibilities, are as fully alive to this as anyone can be. . . . "

33. SIGNIFICANCE OF FEDERAL SCHEME

In opening the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India at Calcutta on December 19, 1938, *Lord Linlithgow devoted his speech mainly to the issue of Federation :* **Dec. 19, 1938**

"....I have had the advantage this summer of renewing personal contact with the Secretary of State. And I have been able, too, to renew the same personal contact with Members of both Houses and with His Majesty's Ministers. There has never been any divergence of view—though I have seen that suggested—between my Noble Friend the Secretary of State, or His Majesty's Government, and myself on the Federal issue, but in speaking to you today I can do so with the additional confidence as to our entire unity of purpose and

approach given by my conversations this summer. While I have been away, and since I have returned, a further stage, and a vital one, in the clearing of the approach to Federation has been achieved: and I am glad, gentlemen, to be able to speak to you today with the knowledge that the Princes are shortly to receive the revised draft Instrument, and will be asked to signify within an appropriate interval of time their decision on it.

In measuring the reactions of public opinion to any proposal of major political importance, it is well to remind ourselves that the circumstances of political controversy tend everywhere to magnify and to advertise those points as to which there is difficulty or deep divergence of opinion, while those matters as to which there is concord and common agreement are too often—in the heat and dust of the fray—forgotten or set aside. So indeed has it been in regard to the controversy upon the question of All-India Federation. Yet, if the matter be impartially examined, it will be found that upon the essential merits of Federation there is wide and, in some highly important regards, unanimous agreement.

Let me attempt for a moment to probe the deeper reasons—the underlying instincts, upon which rests the understanding, so universal today, of the immense importance to India at this time of attaining a fuller political life without sacrificing the ideal of unity. What are the considerations, historical and contemporary, which have harnessed the wider patriotism of Indians to the heavy task of securing the political integration of their country? Surely it is the deep conviction that upon unity depends the position and prestige of India before the nations, and her capacity to take her due place in the world and to exercise upon world development the influence to which she is entitled by right of her history, her importance and her culture. For the due fulfilment of her destiny, unity is essential. In the past India has suffered much and lost many things as the direct and unescapable penalty of internal schism and division. These truths lie deeply embedded in the historical consciousness of the people. I am convinced that their realisation today contributes most materially to shape opinion upon contemporary problems. Quickening and fortifying these powerful impulses, there is quite evidently a growing comprehension of the position of India in a world which has now beyond doubt entered upon one of those formative periods, the outcome of which must affect the shape of human affairs upon this planet for many generations to come. It is certain that, in one shape or another, such a crisis must impose intense stresses and crucial tests upon all people. That India is aware of these matters, none may doubt. Her statesmen are constantly extending and broadening the range and scope of their survey, her public is increasingly disposed to look outwards towards the great world of international affairs, not as mere spectators, but as those who grasp the significance of India's place in the environment of modern world problems. Such stirrings of the national consciousness are bound soon to seek their due expression. How can they find expression unless unity upon All-India basis is achieved?

Upon the economic significance of Federation there can, I imagine, be no serious doubt or dissent, and I am confident that commercial and financial interests throughout India are fully alive to its importance. I venture to hope that those interests, whether Indian or European, will make a direct contribution towards the education of public opinion upon this weighty aspect of federation. The full fruits of union will not ripen in a moment, but I believe that substantial benefits will very soon accrue. Differences and exceptions in the economic field may—no doubt will—survive the achievement of the Federal scheme. That, in the nature of things, is but to be expected. But the achievement of that scheme cannot, in my judgment, but tend to harmonise the interests of all parties without material injury to any ; to weld together from the economic and fiscal point of view, in a manner and to an extent which could not otherwise be looked for, the Indian States and British India ; and to ensure the alleviation of that lack of unity which, whatever its historical explanation, cannot in this sphere but strike the observer as calculated to reduce efficiency, and to hamper the development of India's natural resources, and of her commercial and industrial opportunities.

When we last met a year ago, Provincial Autonomy had been in operation for nine months. The experience of those nine months had left me confident that whatever difficulties lay ahead (and the possibility of difficulty and misunderstanding was as present then as it is today), the workability and the essential soundness of the scheme devised by Parliament had proved themselves ; and that, whatever criticisms might be levelled on points of detail, the foundation was the right one, and, given understanding and goodwill, the scheme of provincial autonomy sound and workable. I was confident too that the autonomous provincial governments, whatever party they represented, could in the working of provincial autonomy expect in the fullest measure from Governors, from the Services, and, in so far as he was concerned, from the Governor-General, friendly and ready co-operation.

Another year's experience of the working of provincial autonomy leaves, I venture to claim, no room for doubt on any of these points. The tributes which Ministers of all political parties have in recent months paid to the work of the great Services speak for themselves. I know from first hand how real is the importance which Ministers attach to the loyal and willing co-operation which they have received. I can speak equally from first hand of the friendly character of the relations between Governors, standing as the King's representatives outside and above party, and their Ministers. As to the working of the special responsibilities, you will, I am sure, agree that the forecast which I gave in my message to India of June last year has been amply and fully realised. He would be a bold man who, today, even in these conditions, excluded the possibility, from one cause or other, of difficulty, even of very serious difficulty, in the future. But, on a broad view, the great experiment of provincial autonomy, the transfer of real powers to Ministers elected by an electorate five times the size of any electorate that had previously voted in India, has proved a

marked success. And, given the continuance of the goodwill and the understanding which has been given in such full measure, there is no reason today why we should not look with confidence to the future. I have no fear that, given the same goodwill and the same co-operation, the Federal scheme, manned by the joint talent and experience of British India and the Indian States, will not be as great and as significant a success as Provincial Autonomy has been.

I am familiar with the criticism that the Federal scheme is too restricted in its scope. Nor do I overestimate, in relation to federation, the importance or the value of the inferences to be drawn from the working of provincial autonomy. For all that, when I consider criticisms such as those which I have just mentioned, I cannot but think of the apprehensions expressed, and, I am sure, genuinely and sincerely felt, at the time of the introduction of provincial autonomy. I would ask whether experience has not shown the reality of the powers then transferred, the ready spirit of co-operation of Governors and the Services, the immense potentialities which the scheme of provincial autonomy, whatever hesitations it may have engendered before it was brought into being, has placed in the hands of Ministers. And I would point to the fact that the special responsibilities placed upon Governors by the Act have admitted, over a period of now more than 18 months, of being operated in the manner in which the Act intended them to be operated, without any interference with the orderly development of the provincial scheme, and without those frequent clashes between Ministers and Governors which were in so many quarters apprehended as likely. I am confident that, after all allowance has been made for the different setting of the stage, we may look for a similar state of things with the introduction of the Federal scheme.

To draw a strict parallel between the Federal portions of the Act and the provincial portions would be misleading. But I would like to express my own profound conviction of the value and the importance of the orderly processes inherent in the Federal scheme, and of the seeds of development which that scheme contains. I no more under-rate here than in the case of provincial autonomy the sincerity of the doubts which critics of Federation may feel. But I would ask them to give Federation the trial which I am convinced that it deserves. Given goodwill and understanding, I am sure that results of the greatest and most lasting importance to the benefit of India may be looked for from its realisation. I am confident, too, that the Governor-General, whoever he may be, will, at all times, in the Central as in the provincial sphere, be ready to give the fullest weight to all relevant considerations ; that he will be anxious to help those who are ready to take advantage of any assistance which he may be able to give them ; and that he will be ready to approach the problems of the Centre (and I fully recognise how they differ from the problems in the provincial field) with detachment, openness, and a sincere anxiety to reach the solution best in the interests of India. In these matters the spirit is of more concern than the letter ; and that consideration is one that must at all times be present to those on whom falls the responsibility for government in this country.

Mr. President, I listened with great interest to your remarks about the Indian States, and I welcome the opportunity that you give me of saying a word about the States in their relation to Federation. The States are as essential an element in a Federation of India as are the Provinces of British India. The unity of India is as dear a thing to them as it is to British India. It was with distinguished leaders of the States that the Federal ideal in its present form originated ; and their contribution to the elaboration of the federal ideal has in the past been material. The decision as to their further contribution must be for them and for them alone to make. No pressure to take a decision in a particular sense will be brought upon the Rulers of the Indian States by His Majesty's Government or by me. Indeed, this matter has throughout been approached with full appreciation of the responsibility which falls upon the individual Ruler who has to take a decision of such momentous consequence to his dynasty and his State. We have done all that lay in our power to apply a just judgment to the points which have been raised by individual States in connection with their accession to Federation and to find the wise and appropriate solution of those points ; and we have, at all times, kept before us the ideal of the unity of India.

The decision whether or not to accede to the Federation of India falls to be taken at a time when the minds of many Rulers are preoccupied with the question of determining the extent to which ideas germinated in different conditions, and arising from wholly different circumstances, are capable of assimilation with the background of their traditions and responsibilities. I realise the difficulty of that problem —none the less great because, while the advice and assistance of the Paramount Power is always available to Rulers, it must rest with Rulers themselves to decide what form of Government they should adopt in the diverse conditions of Indian States. And, as the Secretary of State has again made clear in the last few days, while the Paramount Power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by Rulers, His Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing any form of pressure to bear upon them to initiate constitutional changes. I need not remind you of the close and active interest which so many Rulers have already displayed in this question. But in a field in which, for historical and other reasons, such wide differences in conditions exist, generalizations are dangerous and misleading. The nature of any internal adjustment, the checks and balances appropriately to be applied, cannot wisely in all circumstances be the same, and the fullest weight must be given to all relevant factors by those on whom the responsibility directly falls. But, gentlemen, let us make no mistake about this : if Federation is not to fall short of the high ideal which it has so far constituted, if it is to be a real Federation of all-India, then the collaboration and the participation of the Indian States, and of the tradition they stand for, are essential.

Gentlemen, I have kept you too long and only the importance of this issue is my excuse. It has been my object to reaffirm to you my own faith in the federal ideal : and the importance that in my judgment attaches to its early realisation. Provincial Autonomy and

its working have in a sense been a touch-stone. I claim that we are entitled, in the light of the working of Provincial Autonomy, to be of good heart when we contemplate the working of Federation. Provincial Autonomy and Federation, essentially and intrinsically parts one of the other, represent a great decision, all the more significant when outlined against the background of world politics. That background is more sombre by far in 1938 than it was in 1935. But the darkening of the background, the emphasis on totalitarian ideologies, have made no difference to the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards Indian constitutional advance. Their policy is unchanged, they remain of opinion that in the interests of India as a whole as well as from the point of view of individual units whether States or Provinces, the ideal embodied in the Act is that best calculated to achieve results of real and permanent value alike to India and to the component parts of the Federation.

Mr. President, you referred in your remarks to the appeal which I made when I addressed you a year ago—an appeal for goodwill and patience, for their response to which I am profoundly grateful to your Members. Today I would make another appeal—an appeal to India for collaboration, and I would make that appeal even to those who may sincerely doubt the value of the federal scheme, for I am confident that experience will justify my own profound belief in it. I would make an appeal for trust—trust in the sincerity of those by whom the scheme has been devised, trust in the goodwill and the good faith of those by whom it falls to be carried out. I would make an appeal, finally, for patience and for a realisation of the difficulties of others; and I would ask again that, in considering the problems, whether of individuals or of units, the fullest weight be given to all the attendant circumstances. The responsibility to India of all of us who have it in our power to make any contribution to the achievement of the Federal ideal is heavy and immediate, and it is no light reassurance to me, gentlemen, to feel that in whatever effort I may make to bring it into being without delay, I have your goodwill, and your understanding sympathy and support."

34. FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH

Jan. 3, 1939

To supplement and co-ordinate, and not to supplant the work of the Provincial Departments, would be the concern of the technological laboratories of the Indian Central Jute Committee set up to provide facilities for research of a fundamental character in several aspects of jute production, marketing and manufacture. Extract from Lord Linlithgow's speech at the opening of the Laboratories at Calcutta on January 3, 1939:

"Let me at once tell you how great a pleasure it is to me to be present among you today in order to inaugurate the technological laboratories of the Central Jute Committee. It is 11 years since my colleagues and I of the Agricultural Commission signed the report in which we recommended the setting up of a Central Jute Committee. Since that time the experiences of the grower, the manufacturer and the exporter have, as I think you will agree, been such as substantially to strengthen

the case for the active prosecution of research—agricultural, technical, and commercial—in connexion with this most important crop.

You, Sir Bryce, have paid a well-merited tribute to the work, over many years, of the Bengal Department of Agriculture in the direction of improving the production of jute, and in that connexion you have mentioned the importance of securing that a higher crop yield may not be attained at the cost of a fall in the quality of the fibre. To my mind, it is the great merit of the plan of research laid down by the Indian Central Jute Committee that that plan envisages continuous research over every stage of production, marketing and manufacture, from the seed available to the cultivator to the preparation of the finished article, and also the provision of an improved service of statistics and information.

Throughout the range of its activities, the committee will be concerned at all points, not to supplant, but to supplement and co-ordinate, the work of the Provincial Departments and of the Research Institute of the Indian Jute Mills Association. The co-ordination in research and planning thus secured will, I am persuaded, go far to secure that, in the formation of schemes for improvement in any stage or process, due regard will be had to their relation to the industry as a whole.

I do not doubt that among the many factors which make for prosperity, proper weight will be given to the extreme importance of securing a fair return to the cultivator, whose activities must continue to constitute the foundation upon which rests the whole fabric of this highly important industry."

35. TWO WEST COAST STATES

(i) Lovely Cochin

A tribute to the progressive administration of Cochin was paid by Lord Linlithgow at the State Banquet at the Maharaja's capital on January 7, 1939. His Excellency also referred to the development of " the great Cochin Harbour," the " finest in the east ", and to the natural beauty of the State. Extracts :— **Jan. 7, 1939**

" . . . You know how great and real a pleasure it is to us to meet Your Highness again, this time in your own State and in your own capital, and you know, too, I think, how much we have looked forward to our visit to Cochin and to seeing for the first time your lovely State. I know how widely Your Highness has travelled, but I feel sure that there must be few places which you have seen in the course even of travels so wide as yours which can claim a greater degree of natural beauty or a more attractive setting than Your Highness's own State.

The advanced condition of Cochin today: the high degree of literacy and of education of its peoples; the progressive character of its administration, directly reflect the close and immediate interest

taken by Your Highness and your predecessors on the *gadi* in everything calculated to be of importance to your subjects. Your own close and intimate knowledge of all parts of the State, and the first hand knowledge which your extensive touring has given you, has made you well aware of their needs and requirements ; and I well know how concerned Your Highness has always been to apply the knowledge and experience which your travels whether inside or outside of your State has given you in the administration and for the benefit of Cochin.

Your Highness has referred in your speech to the great Cochin Harbour. It must be a source of keen satisfaction to you that your State should contain a harbour which is, as you say, one of the finest in the east, and the creation of which is of such importance from the point of view of the trade and commerce of Cochin and of India as a whole. I gratefully acknowledge the kind expressions which Your Highness has used as to the assistance which my Government have been able to give you in connection with the development of your port, and you may be confident that I will not fail to watch the course of its future development with close interest. . . .

I warmly welcome the assurance Your Highness has been so kind as to give me in your speech of your ready co-operation in the task that lies before me of the completion of the scheme envisaged by the Government of India Act, and the inauguration of the Federation of India. I do not propose tonight to discuss in any detail the question of Federation. Your Highness and your Government have throughout taken a helpful and constructive attitude in regard to the Federal scheme, and Your Highness is well aware of my views on it. But I would like, if I may, to associate myself to the fullest with Your Highness's remarks as to the fundamental unity of India. That unity, so precious to all who love India, is, I am sure, an ideal that can in no way better be furthered than by completion of the federal scheme ; and I ventured in remarks which I recently made elsewhere to emphasise the extreme importance of maintaining and consolidating that unity, more particularly in the conditions of the present time. Your Highness is right in thinking that the moment has come when, in your own words, unity even in the political sphere can be achieved for this great country, and I am sure that you are right, too, in your feeling that that unity of India as a whole can be achieved consistently with the safeguarding of the interests of its component parts. . . ."

(ii) Travancore's Record

Jan. 10, 1939 *Extracts from speech at the State banquet at Trivandrum on January* 10, 1939:

"It is now half a century since a Legislative Council was first established in Travancore, and I listened with the greatest interest to the review which Your Highness has given us of the developments in the powers and the field of operation of your Legislative bodies. I note your arrangements to enable the Assembly to exercise effective financial control. I note also the method of preparation of the budget,

and of its presentation to both Houses of the Legislature, and the arrangements you have made for the scrutiny of the annual audit and appropriation accounts of the State by a Public Accounts Committee elected by the Legislature itself. I am glad to think that the legislative activity of the two Houses should be as marked as you tell me that it has been, and I welcome the steps which I understand from you they have taken in the field of labour legislation.

In appointing a Public Service Commissioner, Your Highness has taken a step the importance of which the Joint Select Committee and Parliament have both emphasized in the case of British India ; and I note with interest the arrangements you have made for the recruitment of candidates for the various grades in the Civil Service and for the standardisation of the salaries of Government servants. I note, too, the steps taken by Your Highness and your Government to safeguard the position of the backward communities, to widen the basis of recruitment to the Army, and (and to this I attach great importance) to relieve the burden of agricultural indebtedness. I note with much interest that the effect of the Regulation which fixes the relation of landlord and tenant in Travancore is to give the tenant permanency of tenure and fixity of rights. I trust sincerely that the distress prevailing among agriculturists in Travancore, which I hear with great regret has been so acute, may look to be alleviated and reduced. The establishment of a Board of Agriculture, the appointment of Marketing Officers, the appreciation which you have shown of the necessity for intensive agricultural research and activity, are all indicative of the close concern with which Your Highness watches the agricultural problem—a problem of such vital importance in India today.

I share your hope that the scheme for the development of Hydro-electric power in the State will, as you say, give a stimulus to industry, and I am sure that you are right in the emphasis you lay on the importance of the promotion of cottage industries to the future of Travancore. Travancore has great natural resources, and the well thought out scheme for their development, the outlines of which Your Highness has sketched, tonight, will, I trust, produce results of real and lasting benefit to your State. I was struck in particular by the progressive character of the scheme which you tell me that you have in contemplation of the exploitation, by means of careful planning, of the great forest wealth of your State.

This is indeed, as Your Highness has remarked, a period of crucial importance in the history of this country as of the world as a whole. And I welcome the assurance which you give me of the readiness of your ancient State to play its due and adequate part in that co-operation between the Indian States and the Paramount Power, the importance of which you have so rightly underlined. I listened with great pleasure to the tribute which you have paid to the work of my Resident. I am glad indeed to think that relations between your State and my Representative should be of so friendly and harmonious a character."

36. "ADMIRABLY GOVERNED STATE"

Jan. 13, 1939

Extract from speech at the State Banquet at Mysore on January 13, 1939:

"Twelve years ago I paid a brief visit to Bangalore, but this is the first opportunity that we have had since I came to India as Viceroy, of seeing Your Highness's State. I have been here less than one day, but I can already say that the reports of Mysore's beauty are in no way exaggerated and I have already been able, to gauge something of the activities of Your Highness's Government in the development of agriculture and industry and the improvement of public health. On my drive round Bangalore I saw the results of intelligent town-planning upon a residential quarter, a modern maternity hospital, and most worthy memorial in the Technological Institute of Your Highness's Silver Jubilee. Bangalore is already the eighth largest city in India. It is a rapidly growing city, and I can see that it is growing on the right lines.

I am glad to notice however that the fast developing Mysore Industries are being placed in different centres in the State, so that they may be more closely linked with the countryside, and so that the economic benefits derived from them may more directly profit the countryman. Today in Mandya I saw how your sugar industry has brought wealth to the agriculturist and I can well believe how proud Your Highness must feel when you pass through a countryside where the earning capacity of the people has been so materially improved.

I have crowded much into this one day, and I must give my special thanks to Your Highness for the exhibition of Rural Health and Welfare that was arranged for me at Closepet. The Health Training Centre, organized in co-operation with the Rockefeller Foundation, is a most interesting experiment. It is only by intensive practical work in a limited area that one can learn the most effective means of improving the health and welfare of the Indian villager. This centre should be a most valuable guide to the development of public health work not only in the Mysore State but in many parts of India.

The last part of my journey today was when I drove with Your Highness through the streets of your capital. The City of Mysore is remarkable not only for the beauty of its streets and buildings, but also for the development of institutions for the care of the sick and especially the care of those suffering from the terrible disease of tuberculosis. Your Highness has told us of your great interest in the fight against this disease which we are now waging throughout India, and we know that the Mysore State has devoted special attention to this work. My wife and I are happy to be in a city where so much is done to fight this disease, and she looks forward with great interest to visiting tomorrow the tuberculosis institutions, especially the Sanatorium founded in memory of Your Highness's sister, the finest memorial that any one could desire.

So much I have seen today, and I regret that time does not permit me to see more of the developments in the State which spring

from Your Highness's unremitting labour throughout your long rule. I have however had the opportunity of reading something of the developments in Agriculture, Industry, the Medical and Public Health Services and Hydro-Electric Power Supply. I am particularly interested in the developments in agriculture since I visited the State as Chairman of the Royal Commission and I can see that your Agricultural Department has been able to bring about a real improvement especially in the types of paddy, sugar and cotton grown and in the quality of the Mysore cattle. Your Highness is fortunate in ruling over a State possessed of great natural resources, and wise in your policy of utilising those resources to the full. The progress of electrification in Mysore is remarkable, and when the two new projects at Shimsha and Gersoppa are completed there will be a cheap supply of electricity available throughout the State.

When we leave Mysore we shall take away with us the picture of a City of great natural beauty embellished by Your Highness's care, and of an admirably governed State the great natural resources of which have been developed by Your Highness's devoted labours of over forty years for the prosperity and happiness of your people."

37. DESCENDANTS OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT

Extract from speech at the State Banquet at Kolhapur on January 18, 1939 :— **Jan. 18 1939**

"I have looked forward with keen interest to my visit to Kolhapur, the Premier State of this Agency, whose Ruler is the direct descendant of Shivaji the Great, founder of the Mahratta Empire, and I am the more happy to be here today given the cordial relations which have so long existed between Your Highness's State and my Government. It is a source of profound satisfaction to me to give expression in person to the confidence I feel that the future will see no diminution in the intimacy and cordiality of those relations.

The loyal support and the co-operation so readily afforded by His late Highness in the critical years of the Great War have found an echo in the spontaneous and generous gesture made by Your Highness during the recent crisis in placing all the resources of your State at His Majesty's command—a gesture, I can assure Your Highness, most deeply valued and appreciated.

I have listened with close interest to the record of progress made in the State during recent years. That record is one which covers a wide field of achievement ; it would be difficult indeed to suggest any sphere of activity which has escaped Your Highness's notice, and you may well be proud of the progress which Kolhapur has made in so many directions since Your Highness succeeded to the *gaddi*. But I might perhaps pay a special tribute to the development of hydro-electric power ; and to the provision which you contemplate of a pure water supply, and an efficient drainage system—measures of the utmost importance to the health alike of town and village ;

while the steps which Your Highness has taken to introduce and encourage improved methods of agriculture cannot but be of great and growing assistance to your subjects.

Your Highness has referred in your speech to the fine tradition of service for their people of the Ruling House of Kolhapur; and you added that the changing conditions of the times carry with them additional obligations. I feel confident that under Your Highness's inspiration and your guidance these obligations will be discharged to the full, and I am confident too that the policy of Your Highness and your Government will continue to be marked by the same wisdom and foresight in this as in other respects.

I have been greatly interested in this connection to hear that a form of Local Self-Government based on a Panchayat System has been in force in Kolhapur since so long ago as 1926; and that the Illakha Panchayat should have discharged so successfully the purposes which it was created to serve. I need not say how earnestly I trust that the steps which Your Highness tells me that you now have in contemplation for the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in your State will be attended with no less success.

I would like, too, most warmly to commend Your Highness's decision to create a High Court in your State. Its creation cannot but result in increased confidence in the Judiciary generally, and it emphasises, if that were necessary, Your Highness's anxiety to maintain this most important branch of State Administration at a high level.

I am very glad to hear from Your Highness of the cordial relations prevailing between your Government and your Feudatory Jagirdars: I have every confidence that Your Highness will do all in your power to see that this cordial relationship is maintained.

I can well believe that Your Highness's efforts towards the advancement of the State and the welfare of your people have won, and will continue to preserve, the loyalty and affection of Kolhapur: you may be certain that I shall continue to watch with close and sympathetic interest the developments of Your Highness's policy in these respects.

Your Highness has touched in your speech on the all-important question of Federation. I am most grateful to you for the kind reference which you made to my recent speech on that subject, and I much appreciate your readiness to consider the final draft of the Instrument of Accession with a desire, in your own words, to render the fullest co-operation in the achievement of the Federal ideal. In the remarks Your Highness has made as regards the importance of achieving the political unity of India, you have, I am sure, the support of all thinking men.

I listened with the utmost pleasure to the generous tribute which Your Highness has paid to the advice and assistance which you have received from the Political Officers with whom you have been associated. I need not assure you that that advice and assistance is at all times at the disposal of Your Highness in the fullest degree;

and it affords me great satisfaction to take note of the intimate and friendly relations which have prevailed, and which I sincerely trust and believe will continue to prevail, between Your Highness and the Political Officers accredited to your State.

Lady Linlithgow asks me to thank Your Highness most warmly for the remarks which you have been kind enough to make about her Appeal on behalf of the King-Emperor's Fund. The urgency of the need which the Fund is designed to meet calls for no emphasis by me but I would like to say with how great a satisfaction I have noticed the generous response which has been made to the Appeal, and how greatly both my wife and I appreciate the generous donation of Kolhapur. The two Sanatoria for affording relief to sufferers from tuberculosis which already exist in your State show clearly that the interest of Your Highness and your Government in this vital problem is no new thing."

38. INDUSTRIAL ADVANCEMENT

Lord Linlithgow commends the growing realisation that a real co-ordination of industrial effort between the provinces is essential if India as a whole is to advance industrially. His Excellency remarks that he is as much alive to the importance of industrial advancement as of agricultural advancement. Extracts from speech at the 10th Industries Conference at Bombay on January 23, 1939: **Jan. 23, 1939**

"There may have been misgivings lest my preoccupation with agricultural matters should result in less than a due appreciation of the importance of the development of Indian Industries. It was partly in the hope that I might be able to dispel any such misgivings that I welcomed the opportunity to open your proceedings today.

There is no doubt in my mind that conditions today in the world at large make it more necessary than ever before that India should attain a certain balance in her agricultural and industrial economy. The goal of self-sufficiency which is being pursued by many foreign countries is not one that is in my judgment suitable for India, but the falling off in the demand for India's raw products, which is one of its symptoms, imposes on us, precisely in the interests of the agricultural classes, the duty of making a fuller use of those raw products ourselves . . .

I must commend your choice of the actual meeting place in this city, the University Senate Hall, which I hope is symptomatic of the closer co-operation in which it is desirable that Industry and the University should work.

I am happy, too, to see so many representatives of the Indian States taking part in your Conference. It is a recognition of the close interaction, in the industrial as in many other spheres of public activity of the problems, and interests of British India and of the Indian States. The solution of common problems cannot but be

facilitated by increased opportunities for formal consultation and co-operative effort.

The Industries Conference is now an annual institution, but I notice that although this is the Tenth Industries Conference, it is over eighteen years ago since the first of the series was held at Simla, in April 1920. In view of the somewhat different scope and composition of that Conference from the Conference which we are inaugurating today, it is perhaps desirable to indicate briefly the circumstances which have brought about the change.

Twenty years ago, the Indian Industrial Commission, appointed during and to a great extent owing to, the stress of the Great War had just issued its Report.

Its ambitious proposals for a great advance in industrialisation depended on the acceptance of two principles.

The first was that Government ought to take an active part in the industrial development of the country with the aim of making India more self-contained in men and material.

The second was that it was impossible for Government to undertake that part unless they were provided with adequate administrative equipment and forearmed with reliable and technical advice. It was to the Central Government that the Commission assigned the main responsibility for further industrial advance, and to this end one of their main recommendations was the formation of an All-India Industrial Service of specialists and technical experts, who would largely have been seconded for service under provincial Directors of Industries, by whom, under the general control of local Governments, the actual administrative work would have been carried on.

But about the time when the Indian Industrial Commission made its Report, far-reaching constitutional changes were under contemplation, changes which had not been envisaged by the Commission, and which were to render substantial parts of their scheme impracticable. By the time the First Industries Conference met in 1920, it was already known that " Industries " was to be a provincial transferred subject, to be controlled and administered by ministers.

The Conference, therefore, although it consisted entirely of officials, concerned itself mainly with details of the organization of the growing provincial departments of industries, and little was done in the way of co-ordination of effort. At the Conference held in April, 1921, the new provincial Ministers for Industries were present for the first time. At this and at the next following Conference, there manifested itself a certain apprehension lest co-ordination and attempts at unified effort might mean interference: and though it was primarily as a measure of retrenchment that these Conferences were abandoned in 1923, there is I think no doubt that a contributory cause was what I may for want of a better word refer to as the separatist tendency of individual provinces, who for the most part had ceased to attach any great importance to co-ordination in this field.

Fortunately this tendency, the strength of which I have no desire to exaggerate, did not last long and certainly does not persist today.

For it was at the request of the Provincial Governments themselves that these annual Conferences were revived in 1933. Indeed, what I notice now-a-days is something very different from any apprehension that the Central Government may encroach upon the legitimate sphere of provincial activities. It is rather a certain exasperation at the inability of the Central Government to exercise in certain directions powers which were long ago taken away from the Central Government and handed over to provincial ministers.

This seems to me to be a perfectly natural outcome of the growing realization that a real co-ordination of industrial effort between the provinces is essential if India as a whole is to advance or even to maintain the position that in certain industries she has already won. From time to time fissiparous tendencies show themselves, and though we can hardly hope to see complete identity of views established through the machinery of these conferences, it is none the less along the lines of such free and frank discussion of common problems as is here possible that a solution is to be sought.

What part, however, is there still left for the Central Government to play in the future industrial development of the country?

An examination of what has already been done will perhaps shed some light on this. I have already indicated the circumstances in which it was not possible that the Central Government should put in operation the scheme drawn up by the Indian Industrial Commission. Looking back on that scheme, the part that I am most inclined to regret was the abandonment of the scheme for an All-India Industrial Service. If that recommendation could have been given effect to, there would have been in existence today a central pool of industrial experts on which the provinces could have drawn to man their departments, and I feel sure that the existence of such a body of trained men would have been felt today by many provincial ministers to constitute a very material reserve of highly qualified expert advice of which they could if they so wished avail themselves.

Nevertheless the Central Government has been enabled to play a role, different indeed from that envisaged by the Commission, but one which has exercised a notable influence on the development of Indian industries.

By their control of Tariffs, and in pursuance of the policy of discriminating protection which was accepted as the result of the recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission, many great industries—steel, cotton textiles, paper, sugar—have been built up. By their Stores Purchase policy, under which a definite preference is shown by Government, in their purchases undertaken to meet the needs of the public services, to articles of indigenous manufacture, Government have done much to assist many large and small Indian Industries.

The extent of these purchases is not perhaps as widely realised as it should be. During the ten years from 1928-29 to 1937-38 articles wholly or partially manufactured in India were purchased for Government to the extent of twenty-three crores of rupees.

The Indian Stores Department exercises constant vigilance to prevent the purchase from abroad of articles which can equally well be obtained in India, and has succeeded in diverting to indigenous sources of supply many demands which can be met from Indian markets, but which might otherwise have been filled from elsewhere.

Again, the action taken on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture has demonstrated in a striking way the advantages to the provinces of the co-ordination of research and guidance undertaken by the Central Government, and this example has been followed, though not perhaps to the full extent that some of you may have desired, in the industrial field.

The co-ordination of provincial efforts which is effected by your Conference has been emphasized by the establishment of the Industrial Research Bureau, the Industrial Research Council and the Imperial Sericulture Committee, and by the grants given to the Handloom, Woollen and Sericulture Industries.

Last year Government took the decision to place the Industrial Research Bureau on a permanent footing. Owing to the deterioration of the general financial position during the current year, my Government have felt compelled to re-examine that decision, but I am glad to be able to announce that it has been decided to maintain it.

Similarly, I am glad to say that it has been provisionally decided to continue for another financial year (1939-40) the handloom grant which was due under the original scheme to expire next October.

In the legislative field, measures recently passed by the Central Legislature such as the Companies Act and the Insurance Act, cannot but have a far-reaching effect of a beneficial nature on industrial development.

And there are other measures on the anvil such as the Patents Bill, which proposes to penalize the pirating of designs; a Bill to facilitate the registration of Trade Marks in India; the revision of the Law of Merchandise Marks; and a Bill which will enable the Central Government to prescribe a uniform standard of weights. All these legislative activities will help to create an environment in which industry can flourish.

I have perhaps said enough to indicate that the Central Government has, within the limits of the constitution, played its due part in the development of Indian industries.

It will not have escaped your notice that when the scheme of government contemplated by the Government of India Act has been brought into full operation, the responsibility for the development of those industries where development under federal control is expedient in the public interest will remain with the federal government. Quite apart from this, however, there is a large and fruitful field for co-operation and discussion in industrial matters between provinces and States *inter se*, and between them and the Central Government.

I have studied your agenda with much interest. I am glad to see the important place occupied in it by the development of small and cottage industries. To my mind the supplementing not only of the earnings, but of the healthy human interests, of the rural population is more bound up with the development of small subsidiary industries than with that of large-scale industries. I notice that the Hon'ble Minister for Indtustries in Madras, whom I had hoped to have seen here today, laid stress on this point in a recent speech, and that he estimated that big industries could not feed more than ten million people in India.

I am also glad to see that you propose to consider how the service of Indian Trade Commissioners abroad can best be utilized to diffuse the kind of information you require. There has, as you know, been a great expansion of this service during the last five years, and it is the desire of my Government that their services should be enlisted to the fullest possible extent in the expansion of Indian industry and trade.

It is no doubt possible that the discussion of certain items of your agenda may disclose marked divergences in the view-point of different provinces. But it is essential to the success of the free and democratic institutions which we are building up in India that there should be frank and cordial exchange of opinions with a view to reaching agreed solutions, and I do not know that there is any field in which this is more important than that of Industry. At a time when such free discussion of difficulties has drawn us back from the brink of a world war, but when the menace to freedom and democracy has by no means disappeared, it is on this note that I leave you to your deliberations."

39. A FRANK REPLY TO A FRANK ADDRESS

The opportunity provided by the " very outspoken " address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay on January 23, 1939, was availed of by Lord Linlithgow to deal in some detail and with equal frankness with several issues of very great importance. Text of reply :— **Jan. 23 1939**

" I am glad to see you here today, and I thank you on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself for the welcome you have given us to Bombay.

I listened to your address with the interest and the attention which it deserves. You mentioned in your opening remarks that you were anxious to put me frankly in possession of your views on some of the live commercial and industrial problems of the day ; and you expressed the hope that I would seek such solution of the problems on which you touched as would conduce to the best interests of India in general and of those concerned in industries in particular.

You are in my judgment right in suggesting that the criterion to be applied in considering the answer to the many difficult and controversial problems which you have raised should be the best interests of the country in general. I could wish that, on the question of what line of action was likely to be most conducive to the achievement of

that end, our views more nearly approximated. But you have given me an opportunity, in your very full, and, I may say, very outspoken, address to deal in some little detail with a number of issues of very great importance, not only to India generally, but to those commercial and industrial interests for which you speak. I will endeavour in the short time that is available to us this morning to deal, with such particularity as is practicable, with the position in regard to those issues, and to reciprocate the frankness with which you have set your view of the case before me—a frankness which I in no way misunderstand.

You have placed in the forefront of your remarks the question of the Rupee Ratio; and I think that it would be appropriate that I should touch on this most important question in the first place.

You will, I am sure, not misunderstand me if I at once make plain that I find myself quite unable to accept your observations upon the history of this matter as an objective statement of the facts of this complicated question. While I may tell you that my own view, formed after close study of the question, is as definite as that conveyed in your address, it does not appear to me that any analysis of past history is likely today to assist us in appraising the practical issues with which we are faced. Let us then agree to differ as to the past history, while we proceed to concentrate rather on the practical aspects, which must appeal to you, as business men, and on the merits of the position.

The vital importance of the exchange issue makes it in no way surprising that for many years past its prominence should have been so great. It is an issue, as you with your great experience, realise as fully as I do, extremely technical in character. It is not an issue that can be considered in isolation, or in terms of a single country only.

The history of the 20 years that have elapsed since the end of the Great War makes clear beyond any possibility of doubt the international ramifications of the currency question; and emphasize the essential necessity of taking no step in regard to it save after the fullest consideration, and the fullest weighing, from every point of view, of the repercussions of action in a particular sense.

The history of world currency over this period has very clearly shown the uncharted reefs that confront those who endeavour to sail in these dangerous and difficult waters. That is a factor that has continually been present to me and to my Government in shaping our policy; for we carry a very great responsibility to the people of India—a responsibility that we are bound to discharge without fear or affection, without consideration of the temporary reaction on any one interest or group of the adoption of a particular course, and with the object solely of ensuring on a long view the true and best interest of the Indian tax-payer and the Indian cultivator.

Those being the considerations that have weighed with us in the past, and that weigh with us today, in the formulation and the conduct of our currency policy, I can assure you that in the decisions my Government have taken, and in the policy that we are maintaining, we have failed to take into account no material factor.

Nor in reaching our conclusions have we done so without the most careful weighing of every relevant consideration, whether in India or outside India.

Those conclusions, which we have again publicly stated in the last few days, are based on the widest experience and the best advice that could be obtained ; and, speaking myself with a strong sense of the responsibility which rests upon me personally and upon my Government, I have no hesitation in saying that the policy to which we are working is the only one which could, on the picture as we see it, properly have been adopted by us, having regard to the necessity for giving full weight to the interests of all classes and sections in this country, and for planning on a long-term basis.

I would be unfair to you if I did not, with the same frankness which you yourselves have adopted in your Address today, tell you that my Government have, as they recently made clear no intention of allowing the lowering of the present exchange value of the Rupee ; that they intend to defend it by every means in their power ; and that they are confident (a fact the significance of which will, of course, be present to you as representatives of great commercial interests) of their entire ability to maintain it.

I know that misunderstandings exist as to the effect of our present exchange policy. In a communiqué recently issued, which expressed the views of the Government of India, an endeavour was made to deal with certain of these misunderstandings. I will not trespass on your patience by reiterating all the points which the recent statement of my Government was designed to underline.

There is, however, one point which is of particular and close interest to me personally—the effect of the present ratio on the agriculturist.

I am satisfied that there is no foundation for the suggestion that the maintenance of the ratio has been disadvantageous to the agriculturist. I am satisfied, indeed, that to lower the ratio in the market conditions, internationally, of the present day, would result in no rise that matters in what the cultivator can realise for his produce ; that it would immediately and sharply increase the cost of what he buys ; and that its effect on the budgetary position of the Centre and of the provinces could not but be of a character which would injuriously affect the taxpayer, whether urban or agricultural.

In face of considerations of this nature—considerations, I repeat, our conclusions in regard to which have been reached only after the most careful and prolonged examination—you will not I know be surprised that our policy is the policy which I have described to you. But I trust sincerely that, having heard my exposition of the care with which we have examined the whole position before reaching our conclusion, and the pains at which we have been to give weight to every conceivable factor, you will believe that that decision has not been lightly taken, or taken on any basis other than that of the true interest of the taxpayer, of the cultivator, and of the industrial and commercial interests of India.

I have listened with interest to your suggestion that the time has come for Government to abandon the policy of discriminating protection in favour, in your own words, of a policy of full fledged protection.

The fiscal policy of Government in respect of India's industries is, as you are well aware, based on the principles laid down in the Resolution adopted by the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 16th February 1923.

This policy has been in operation for well over a decade, and the experience gained of its working during that period appears to me to confirm the soundness of the principles on which it is founded.

I am aware that divergent views exist as to the effect of that policy on the pace and extent of industrial development. But the results of the policy in its application to particular industries, the Iron and Steel, the Cotton Textile, and the Sugar industries, to name only a few, have been sufficiently impressive to justify the conclusion that further progress should be sought along lines so well tested in the past rather than in a fundamental departure from the principles which have hitherto guided Government's fiscal policy.

You will, I am sure, agree with me that it is of supreme importance in a predominantly agricultural country such as India to ensure that no undue burden shall be imposed on the community as a whole as a result of a policy of protection. Avoidance of such undue burden on the general mass of consumers is of the essence of the policy of discriminating protection, and any deviation from this principle could not fail to have a most injurious reaction upon the condition of the agricultural classes, the protection of whose interests is, I am sure, both on general grounds and because of the direct and immediate reaction of the prosperity or poverty of those classes on trade and industry, a matter of as deep concern to your Chamber as it is to Government.

That is the position in its most general terms. You will share my view that a great deal has been done in the way of protection ; and I have urged that we should be wise to continue to follow the path which has hitherto given us good results rather than to embark on new and more hazardous experiments.

I think it is fair, too, in considering this issue of protection, the importance of which I fully recognise, to bear in mind that one effect of its adoption has been to turn a highly elastic revenue system into an inelastic one in which the law of diminishing returns is already strongly in operation.

A consideration of a quite different character, and one that is, I know, present to you is the probability, indeed the certainty, if the demand for high protective tariffs were conceded, that foreigners would take advantage of those tariffs by establishing factories here ; and that cannot be regarded from the point of view of those who are most anxious for an increased degree of protection as a factor to be treated lightly.

Speaking, however, to an audience of your great experience in the commercial world, I think that I might not inappropriately before I

pass from this subject remind you (though I am sure that that consideration is one to which you are alive) of the heavy burden on the consumer, with no corresponding increase of revenue to the Exchequer, involved in a high protective duty.

I do not indeed think that I should be very far off the mark if I were to estimate the real burden of the customs tariff as about double the amount of revenue it yields; or, to put it in a different form, to suggest that the burden of that part of the tariff which is in fact protective is, as I speak to you today, of the order of 40 crores a year. I would ask you to bear in mind the magnitude of this sum in relation to the burden which the taxpayer shoulders for the defence of the country.

This brings me to the question of Military expenditure, a question, I imagine, throughout the world today of profound concern to every taxpayer and to every Chancellor of the Exchequer. I agree with you in regarding the 45 crores spent annually on Defence by India as a heavy burden.

And yet I am able today to point to the fact that India is the only large country in the world in which Defence expenditure during the last fifteen years not only has not been increased, but has undergone a decisive reduction. I might perhaps remind you that in 1922 Defence estimates were 65¼ crores. Last year they were between 45 and 46 crores. Defence expenditure has indeed been progressively reduced, and that despite the altered position of the international situation, to a point at which, as you recognize yourself in the remarks you have just addressed to me, a further reduction cannot safely be made.

I wholly agree with what you say as to the desirability and the importance of the training of Indians for the defence of their country; and no inconsiderable part of the Army is now under the process of Indianisation.

I would like, however, to take this opportunity to draw attention to the fact that some difficulty is being experienced in finding suitable candidates for the number of vacancies offered. Indeed, the numbers presenting themselves at the half-yearly examination are comparatively small and have been steadily declining. In the case of the Indian Navy equally, there has been a shortage of qualified candidates for Commissions.

The question of how to secure a better flow of candidates for the Defence Services is under active consideration, but I fear that today there can be no question that supply is hardly equal to demand—a consideration of very direct relevance to the general principle of Indianisation. Finally, it is to be remembered that the Military field is one in which long training and experience are necessary, and in which the policy we are pursuing can come to full fruition only over a period of years. It would, in my judgment, be false economy to take the risks involved in sacrificing soundness and dependability to haste.

I should like to assure you of my full sympathy with the hopes you have expressed for the continued growth and progress of the Indian mercantile marine.

I need not recall to you the measures taken by my Government in different spheres of action in pursuance of their declared policy of assisting in the participation of Indian-owned shipping in India's trade and of organizing facilities for the training of Indians for a sea career. It has been their constant endeavour, by the method of peaceful discussion and negotiation, to promote the full co-operation of all the interests concerned in the solution of their differences, and largely through their efforts important advantages have been secured in the past for Indian shipping concerns. You may rest assured that they will continue to use their good offices and their influence in furtherance of an object the importance of which they so fully realise.

You mentioned in the course of your remarks, that in the judgment of your Chamber those sections of the Government of India Act which aim at the prevention of commercial discrimination placed India at a very material disadvantage ; and from comment in the Press and on the public platform I realize that this is an issue which attracts wide attention in many quarters. But you are familiar with the long course of argument and discussion at the Round Table Conferences, before the Joint Select Committee, and in Parliament, which preceded the incorporation of these sections in the Act, and it would be disingenuous of me to hold out any hope that the question will be held under early review.

You have expressed your concern at the delay in the conclusion of the negotiations for a new Trade Agreement with the United Kingdom.

I share your regret that the range and complexity of the matters at issue and the importance of the interests, affected, should have had the effect of prolonging the negotiations. But you will have seen the decision of my Government that, whatever the course or outcome of the negotiations, the Ottawa Agreement will not be continued beyond the end of the next Budget Session. You will have seen also the announcement recently made in the Legislative Assembly that any agreement reached will be placed before the Legislature for its opinion before effect is given to it.

I have taken careful note of the other suggestions which you have made in regard to matters of procedure connected with the conclusion of trade agreements, and I can at once assure you that they will receive consideration at the appropriate time.

On one point to which you have alluded—the desirability of such agreements being signed on behalf of the Government of India by their own representatives—I might explain that the position which you have indicated as desirable is that which already obtains in the case of agreements with other Empire countries. Where however the agreement is with a foreign country the constitutional position of India requires that it should be formally signed by representatives of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

You alluded to the effect on the cotton grower, and on the cotton trade generally, of the slump in cotton prices, and you suggested as one step which might be taken to meet the situation a substantial reduction in the railway freight rates for this commodity.

I am aware of the difficulty which faces the cotton-grower, and I need not assure you of my deep sympathy with him. I am also aware of the difference between the pre-war rates and those now in force, the increase in rates having been made at a time when the cost of operation on railways had substantially increased.

Improvements in the conditions of service, particularly in the case of the lower paid employees, have contributed largely to these operating costs; and legislation within recent years affecting labour and designed to secure still further improvements tends to augment the working expenses of Railways, despite every effort for rigid economy.

I cannot agree, I fear, that Railways do not recognise their obligation to assist in the development of the trade of this country. The tariffs of practically all the principal Railways are replete with rate quotations indicating the substantial reductions in the normal freight rates that have been made by individual Railways, to assist in the development of trade and industry.

The reluctance of Railway Administrations to reduce the freight rates for cotton is not due to any disregard for commercial interests. It is due, as I understand it, entirely to the practical consideration that any feasible reduction in these rates would, on the one hand, not result in any increase in traffic, while it would, on the other, almost certainly involve Railways in a loss of revenue approximating to Rs. 1½ crores. I am sure you will recognise that, in these circumstances, the Railways' primary obligation for their financial stability rules out of consideration the substantial reduction which you suggest.

I have made in connection with the Indianisation of the Army the point that it takes time to work up from a very low percentage to a high percentage.

The same considerations apply in respect of the Indianisation of the Civil Services. With the best will in the world, progress must be gradual, though progress has been very considerable indeed. I will not weary you, towards the end of a long speech, with details.

I will only say, to take the Central Services, to the position in regard to which you draw my special attention, that the number of Europeans recruited to Class I of those Central Services to which recruitment is made by the Governor-General-in-Council, during 1935, 1936 and 1937, is 20, 7 and 6 respectively. The number of Indians recruited for the corresponding period is 9, 44 and 56.

The number of Indian officers appointed to the secretariat is bound to increase as time passes and as Indians with the requisite qualifications and of the requisite seniority become available; and while my Government are doing all that they can in this connection, the process is one that must inevitably take time.

I have, I fear, kept you for a long time this morning. But the importance of your address, which I have been so glad to receive, and the necessity of dissipating misconceptions and of making the position clear on the major issues on which you have touched in your address are my excuse. I have not hesitated to deal with the various points that you have mentioned to me in greater detail than I should otherwise have done, because I feel confident that a close examination of them would be welcome to you, and because, even though there are many points on which I have with regret found myself unable to accept your views, I am anxious that you should not be left with any feeling that I have not given them the most careful personal consideration, or that I have not done my best in the short time available to me to set out the position as I see it in regard to the matters to which you have drawn my attention. Let me in conclusion thank you again for the cordial welcome you have given me today, and for your good wishes which I greatly value."

40. RULERS AND SUBJECTS

Feb. 28, 1939

While noting the record of administrative progress in Jaipur State, Lord Linlithgow emphasised the importance of providing opportunities to enable public opinion to express itself.

The stage was now at hand when the Rulers of Indian States should take a decision about accession to Federation. But it was for them to take a decision. Extract from speech at State Banquet at Jaipur on February 28, 1939.

"Your Highness in your speech tonight has traced the record of administrative progress in Jaipur in recent years, and I listened, with close attention, to the account which you have given us of the many and various directions in which you are able to point today to improvement and to advance in the administrative field. These are times in which the establishment and the maintenance in that field of a high standard of efficiency, the removal of legitimate grievances, the maintenance and the encouragement of good relations and good understanding between landlord and tenant, between Ruler and ruled, are more important than ever before; and I am sure that these are considerations that are fully present to Your Highness and to your government.

I have listened with close interest to the arrangements which you have made to promote rural development, and I welcome your intention, despite the hampering effect of existing famine conditions, to endeavour to pursue the policy which has been inaugurated in that respect. My own interest in cattle-breeding, and my strong sense of the real importance of that question make me glad to think that so progressive a policy should under Your Highness's auspices, have been adopted in regard to the improvement of the breed of cattle in Jaipur.

The immense value, in terms of the contentment and the prosperity of your subjects, whatever their class or creed, of a high

level of administrative efficiency is rightly present to Your Highness. The benefit of certain of the schemes which you have mentioned to us tonight can hardly be expected to accrue in its fullness for some years to come. But it must be a cause of profound satisfaction to you that so much should already have been done, and that the basis of that administrative efficiency, which is so vital at the present day, should so early in your rule have been securely laid, and laid on solid and well-devised foundations. I listened with the closest attention to what your Highness was good enough to tell us of the steps you have taken to enable you to ascertain the needs of your people in regard to administrative questions, and to afford them, in your own words, opportunities to bring to the notice of your Government any matters of public concern which, in their opinion, require attention. This is a period when old standards call in many cases for re-examination and adjustment in the light of circumstances, when throughout the world the ebb and flow of changing conditions is marked to a greater degree than has been for many years the case, when in all countries the long view, and long-term planning, have assumed an importance far greater than they have occupied even in the critical years of the post-war period.

In such conditions the importance of providing opportunities to enable public opinion to express itself, and to place on record, for the assistance of those on whom the burden of responsibility falls, the views and the opinions of the ordinary citizen, is far greater than it has been in the past, and in the light of modern requirements it is plainly necessary that there should be some machinery whereby Your Highness can be satisfied that any legitimate wants or grievances of your subjects can be brought to the notice of your Government so that they may be freely and promptly set right. I trust sincerely that the steps which you have taken and which you have mentioned to us tonight, will achieve Your Highness's object of securing the closer association of your subjects with the development of your administration and that, within the framework of the State and of the Constitution, they will give your people the opportunity to bring to the notice of Your Highness and your Government considerations which may be relevant or germane to the decisions which fall to be taken within the area concerned . . .

Your Highness in your speech mentioned the Draft Instrument of Accession which, in common with other Ruling Princes, you have recently received. I welcome the assurance which you give me of the care with which you are considering that important document. My own views on Federation are well known ; and I do not tonight, on an occasion on which topics technical or potentially controversial would be out of place, propose to develop them again. But I might, I think, venture to say that, as Your Highness is well aware, I have never ceased to emphasize the extreme importance, from the point of view of all concerned, which I attach to the early realisation of Federation. For I am certain myself that it is the right and only solution of the difficulties of the present time. I realised fully the intricacy of many of the issues which arise, and, as Your Highness is aware, I have

spared no pains to ensure that they should be elucidated in the fullest detail. But the ground has now been cleared. The long preliminary exploratory process necessary before the Draft Instrument of Accession in its present form could be present to Your Highness and to other Princes for consideration is over, and the point is at hand at which the decision falls to be taken, a decision, as I have more than once made clear, which is for Your Highness and for other Ruling Princes yourselves to make. . . .

I thank you warmly on behalf of Lady Linlithgow for the cordial reference which you have made to the interest which she has taken in the work of combating Tuberculosis; and I should like on her behalf also again to thank Your Highness publicly for the munificent donation given to the King-Emperor's Fund by Your Highness and by your State. I know how close an interest your State has taken in the provision of medical and hospital facilities, and I am glad to think that its contribution in a matter of such direct concern to your subjects should be on so generous a scale. . . ."

41. FUNDAMENTALS OF GOOD ADMINISTRATION

Mar. 1, 1939 *The necessity of making arrangements to enable State subjects to bring their legitimate grievances and suggestions to the notice of the administration was stressed by Lord Linlithgow speaking at a State banquet given by His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur on March 1, 1939. Extract from the speech :—*

"Your Highness referred in your speech to the inhospitable character of the country in which Jodhpur is situated, but it seems to be very frequently the case that the hardships of Nature produce races of tougher fibre, of greater courage and loyalty and indeed of more generous and hospitable instincts than do countries which have been more favoured. The history of Your Highness's illustrious House and of your State offer a conspicuous example of the truth of this tendency, and there are not wanting many evident proofs of its continued persistence even in the changed conditions of the present. Those adverse natural conditions, as Your Highness has mentioned, are not reflected in any lack of material prosperity. I can indeed congratulate Your Highness very warmly on the material progress to which you can point.

At Jodhpur Your Highness possesses one of the most up-to-date aerodromes in India. It is fitted with electric equipment for night landing and is a main aerodrome on the Trans-India route. It is used regularly by three Trans-India services and in 1937-38 as many as 877 machines landed there. This achievement has been made possible by the great personal interest which Your Highness has always taken in flying. Indeed aviation in India owes a great debt to Your Highness. Yourself a distinguished air pilot, you maintain a Flying Club in Jodhpur and you have always given the most willing assistance to the Royal Air Force. It is therefore with particular pleasure that I am able to announce tonight that His Majesty the King-Emperor has been

pleased to confer on Your Highness the rank of Air Commodore in the Royal Air Force.

Your Highness has rightly pointed out that material advancement is not the sole end of good government, and I have listened with pleasure and appreciation to your views on the aspects (to use your own words) other than material of your policy and your administration. Your Highness has mentioned the religious impartiality of your Government and your concern to give fair treatment to all communities alike. The absence of communal troubles in Jodhpur is due, I would suggest, in no small degree to the confidence and contentment which the application of that policy by Your Highness and Your Highness's Government have inspired.

And if that old fashioned loyalty and reverence for order in Jodhpur to which you have referred remains unshaken, it is not least, I am confident, because Your Highness has shown yourself personally worthy of such loyalty, because of the keen and immediate interest you take in the happiness and progress of your State and its inhabitants, and because the guiding principle of your administration, your own close interest in which I am aware of and applaud, has been the good order of your State and the welfare of your people.

The energetic measures taken by Your Highness's Government to bring relief to the stricken areas in the State which are suffering from a failure in the Monsoon last hot weather are but one example of this. In addition to a large sum set aside for famine relief, I understand that fodder depots have been set up to assist the emigration of cattle in search of pastures ; free grazing is being arranged wherever possible and taccavi is being distributed on a generous scale.

Your Highness mentioned that you were, and that you had been for a long time, fully prepared to take steps to associate your subjects in an increasing measure with your administration in the government of your State. I am aware of the steps Your Highness has taken to that end, details of which you gave us tonight, by establishing Panchayats in villages, Advisory Boards in many districts, and a Central Advisory Board.

It is in these days, as Your Highness clearly appreciates, of vital importance not only that administration should be conducted on sound and up-to-date lines, but that adequate provision should exist for the ventilation of legitimate grievances and for bringing to the notice of the Government of the State the wants and the suggestions of its subjects. The detail of such provision must, of course, vary with circumstances, and it is clear that no rigid uniformity of system can wisely be expected.

The nature, equally, of the arrangements to be made to achieve those objects must be for the decision of the Ruler. I trust sincerely that the system Your Highness has described to us tonight will prove of substantial benefit to your people and will win their appreciation. In wishing all success to Your Highness in your progress towards the goal which you have set before you, I would add only that in these days of stress and change it is of real importance, if arrangements of

this nature are to bear full fruit and to achieve the object you have in view, that their adequacy and the smoothness with which they are running should be under constant scrutiny, so that such adjustments or such changes as practical working may indicate to be desirable or necessary may admit of being made with the minimum of difficulty or friction.

I have listened with attention to Your Highness's remarks on the vital question of Federation, and the objects and the ideals which Federation represents; and I welcome what you tell me of your attitude towards this great question—an attitude all the more significant when we are dealing with a State of the importance and with the historic tradition of Jodhpur. I note too, with satisfaction, Your Highness's claim in this connection that you and your State can point to a level of administration as high as that of the Provinces of British India. The decision as to accession to the Federation of India is one for Your Highness to take, and, neither in the case of Jodhpur nor in the case of any other State, will any pressure in regard to that decision be brought to bear upon a Ruler. I am glad to think that, on the judgment which Your Highness has yourself formed, and to the extent that you feel able at this stage to reach any judgment, Jodhpur has no need to shrink from entering the Federation.

Your Highness's assurances of Jodhpur's loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor rest on more than words. Your Forces played a most distinguished part not only in the Great War, but in the many other campaigns in which their assistance was freely offered to the Empire and gratefully accepted. Your Highness was amongst the first last autumn when a crisis developed which led to the immediate threat of War to offer the assistance of all the resources of your State; and I feel no shadow of doubt that should the need arise, amongst the foremost to help the Empire in its need will be Your Highness and the State of Jodhpur."

42. "AN ILLUSTRIOUS STATE"

Mar. 4, 1939

Referring to the constitutional and general progress in Udaipur State, Lord Linlithgow points out that "the adoption or the development of the particular form of constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State is a matter primarily and essentially for the Ruler himself, and one the decision in regard to which must be left to his own wisdom and his own foresight". Extracts from speech at the State Banquet at Udaipur on March 4, 1939:—

"I am gratified, too, to hear of the general progress and general advance that Your Highness has been able to achieve in all departments of the State administration during the last few years. In addition to the new revenue and settlement arrangements, your Military and Police Forces have been reorganised, your Judicial Department has been overhauled, you now have a High Court under the supervision of a Chief Judge, and many new laws and acts have been framed on the lines of those of British India and brought into

use in the State. Attention has also been paid to education and public health, while industry has not been forgotten. There are now, I understand, several cotton, ginning and pressing factories, a cloth mill, and a sugar factory in Mewar. I know that Your Highness takes a keen and personal interest in the administration of your State, and I know, too, of the many hours each day spent by you at your office table to keep in close touch with all that is going on. I offer Your Highness my heartiest congratulations upon this and upon all that you have achieved in the nine years of your rule over this illustrious State. These are days in which administrative efficiency is of most material importance, and improvements such as those which I have mentioned—a review of revenue and settlement arrangements, the attention which has been devoted to ensuring that your subjects have the benefit of adequate and reliable judicial arrangements, the revision of the Statute Book—are all clear proof of the extent to which Your Highness has the welfare of your subjects at heart. I have no doubt too, and the village Panchayat Act which Your Highness has just signed confirms me in this—that Your Highness, in the time to come, will continue to ensure that your people are given all due opportunities of bringing their wants and their troubles to the notice of your Government. I take this opportunity to touch upon that point, but I touch upon it in general terms. For, as has been made clear by the pronouncements recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government and by myself on various public occasions, the adoption or the development of the particular form of constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State is a matter primarily and essentially for the Ruler himself, and one the decision in regard to which must be left to his own wisdom and his own foresight.

Your Highness mentioned that you had under your consideration the draft Instrument of Accession which has recently been communicated to you. I entirely understand your feeling that it would be premature for you to express any view on terms of Instrument until the consideration which you are giving to that most important document has reached a further stage. I would only repeat what I think I have elsewhere made clear, that the decision, in this matter of such fundamental significance to the Indian States, and indeed to India as a whole, is one that has of set purpose been left to the free and unfettered judgment of individual Rulers concerned.

I much appreciate Your Highness's expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and I will convey it to His Majesty at the earliest opportunity. I know that your words, which I so greatly value, reflect the long and close connection of Rulers of Mewar who have from time immemorial been so noted for their devotion to the causes they have supported, with the King-Emperor and with his illustrious predecessors.

I greatly appreciate, too, the cordial and friendly references which Your Highness has been kind enough to make to the untiring efforts of Mr. Chamberlain in the cause of peace, and your assurance of support. These are difficult days, in which many anxious problems confront those on whom falls the task of guiding the destinies of Great Britain

and the Empire. We may, I think, reflect with deep and real satisfaction on the progress which the Prime Minister has been able to make—progress which cannot but be a most helpful augury for the future.

Your Highness has but recently taken the momentous step of adopting an heir and successor, and it has been a very great pleasure to me during my visit to Udaipur to make the personal acquaintance of Maharaj Kunwar Bhagrati Singhji. I am sure that Your Highness's decision to make an adoption now, when you are in a position yourself to take a close and personal interest in the education and the training of your heir, is a wise one, and one in the best interest alike of your ancient House and of this famous State.

I thank Your Highness on behalf of Lady Linlithgow for your most kindly reference to the success which has attended her Appeal on behalf of the King-Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund—a reference which she greatly appreciates. And I thank you, too, most warmly, on her behalf and on behalf of my family and myself for your most generous and cordial hospitality. Our visit to Udaipur to which we have so keenly looked forward for so long, and this first occasion on which we have had the pleasure of meeting Your Highness in your own State, will be an enduring memory for us."

43. RESEARCH IN ANIMAL NUTRITION

Mar. 11, 1939 *Some lines on which a systematic attempt at improving India's live-stock wealth could be pursued were indicated by Lord Linlithgow when he opened the new wing of the Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar on March 11, 1939. Extracts from the speech :—*

" Knowing my great interest in agricultural and veterinary matters, you will realise how glad I am to be here today for this, to my mind, most important occasion.

I was much interested in the account which you, Sir Jagdish, have just given in your address of the development of the Institute and the expansion of its work. These two buildings which I have come to open, and indeed the whole of this estate here, and the hilltop buildings in Kumaun, which together form the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, represent not so much the maturing of a considered plan as a process of inevitable growth. It is a matter of common observation that in the medical profession the progress of attention has been from cure of disease to prevention of disease and then to the establishment of health. This progress does not mean that medical interest is directed towards the latter aim in substitution of the former. It merely indicates that with the growth of human knowledge and experience and of a proper understanding and use of scientific enquiry attention which at first is confined to phenomena, extends itself to cover causes.

The general trend of veterinary activities presents a good example of this general progress which I have just described. Let me explain. The first point I would emphasise is the vastness of India's

animal population, which is to the student perhaps the most significant characteristic of her veterinary problems.

She holds a substantial proportion of the domestic animals of the world. Indeed, with an estimated total of 215 million animals, she carries over one-fourth of the world's stock of cattle and two-thirds of its buffaloes. In addition, she sustains something like 97 million sheep and goats.

It is generally agreed that this aggregate of domestic animals is larger than is required in a properly balanced economy and that it imposes a too heavy demand in terms of fodder and feeding stuffs. There can be little doubt that the prevalence of animal disease in India is the main clue to the enormous stock of animals which India houses.

In the past very heavy losses have been suffered from contagious diseases of animals such as rinderpest, anthrax, surra and the like. These losses menaced often the actual carrying out of agricultural operations which, since their timing and rotation is fixed by the cycle of the seasons, must be punctually carried out, and will indeed wait for no man.

In India the bullock is almost the only source of tractive power, and epidemics of animal diseases may deprive the cultivator both of the value of his working bullocks and of a large part of his crop.

So long, therefore, as disease reigned more or less uncontrolled, the cultivator and all who depended on the use of animals tended to carry a very large stock of them, since experience had taught that in the event of epizootic disease there would then be the chance of sufficient animals surviving to enable them at least to carry on. Clearly, under conditions where these diseases had more or less a free run, numbers were more important than quality and with over-stocking and consequent shortage of fodder, it was unlikely that the average cultivator would maintain animals of substantial value.

A first and essential step towards the improvement of the quality of our stock has therefore been the control of animal diseases, and it was to meet this need that this Institute was founded almost 50 years ago. The decades intervening provide a record of the success in this most important aim. This Institute has established a deserved reputation and if animal disease is no longer the terror in India that it was half a century ago, much of the credit must be given to this and to similar establishments elsewhere which have concentrated on the study of animal diseases and on the production of remedies and preventives for them.

The importance of preventive work, which is the second in the sequence I mentioned, was early realised, and those in charge of the Institute set themselves to organising this side of veterinary work. The serum products which this Institute has produced and of which it is now so large a supplier are a testimony to the efficiency with which this work has been carried out.

The annual production of anti-rinderpest serum alone is over 700,000 doses, while the figures for other sera are equally of impressive dimensions. The rinderpest vaccine, in the development of which this Institute played a distinguished part, is an illustration of the results of continued efficient research, for it represents a comparatively cheap and easy method of bringing rinderpest under control, and the local preparation of this vaccine in a properly equipped provincial laboratory is now quite feasible. Advance in economy, simplicity and safety are all represented in this effort of research.

You will all appreciate how the climatic conditions of India add to the difficulties attendant on serum manufacture and the preservation of the viability of these delicate products ; and how, in consequence, provision of cold storage in the near future at Izatnagar will simplify and cheapen this storage problem.

The third stage in the sequence which I mentioned was the establishment of health, which means, for veterinary purposes, the establishment of animal well-being and of the general conditions which will strengthen the animal's resistance and improve its quality. This Animal Nutrition building which is before us now represents, as it were the realisation in brick and mortar of the full recognition of this important branch of veterinary science. It is not appropriate for me to dilate here on the vital importance of scientific nutrition. The interest in this question is now wide and general, and you are all aware of the necessity of food with effective and balanced nutritive value for the proper functioning of the body.

What applies to human beings applies with equal force to animals, and in India possibly with even greater force. The more I travel round India ; the more I reflect on the deeper and more intimate problems of her rural economy and the physical well-being of her millions ; the more am I confirmed in the importance I attach to raising the quality of her cattle and animal population.

To the great mass of the inhabitants good animals mean better and more profitable farming and more nourishing food.

This important—indeed this fundamental—position which animals occupy in India's economy demands that no effort should be spared to see that the resources of science and technical skill are devoted to examining the improvement of animal nutrition, and that the resultant knowledge on this subject is made available both to governments and, in popular form, to the farming community at large.

This Animal Nutrition Branch of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute will supply a most important need, and on behalf of all present here today I wish it all success.

The other new building which I have been invited to open represents a direct attempt to cope with a large, but till recently curiously neglected, side of Indian agricultural and connected activities. It is destined, I feel confident, to make a most valuable contribution towards the solution of those problems that today beset the poultry

keeper in India. The part played by disease as the opponent of quality of production, which I mentioned earlier in regard to animals, applies markedly in the case of poultry in India. So long as disease regularly sweeps off birds in large numbers there can be no sufficient incentive for ordinary owners to go in for quality as against quantity.

It is, I believe, the case that nearly all the poultry diseases which have shown themselves in India can readily be controlled and, if this be so, it is the measure of the opportunity before this Institute, and before those who will place the knowledge which will be acquired within these walls at the disposal of the cultivator and the poultry keeper.

In comparison with world figures India's total of domestic fowls and ducks is not so striking as the animal total. Nevertheless the gross figure of domestic fowls in India is estimated at 173 million birds—a figure from which the dimensions of the problem and the opportunity can at once be realised. A point of great interest is that in this particular departure the Institute is getting to grips at first hand with the commercial problem of the industry. I am convinced that there is great scope in India for the development of the poultry industry. The first requisite for that development is knowledge and it is the object of this Institute to provide it. I have every confidence that the Officer-in-Charge, with his staff, will be able at no distant date to render more profitable the business of poultry keeping in this country."

44. HOW TO MEET CRITICISM

Referring to cases of unjustified attacks to which the States had been subjected Lord Linlithgow in his address to the Chamber of Princes on March 13, 1939 pointed to the necessity of the Rulers' close personal interest in the affairs of the State and suggested that there could be " no more effective method of disposing of unjustified criticism of the administration of a State than publicity designed to set out the true facts" :— **Mar. 13, 1939**

" I am not ignorant that in recent times the Rulers of Indian States have been passing through in many cases a period of stress and difficulty. Far be it from me to deny that there have been many cases in which States have been subjected to attacks which were entirely unjustified, attacks in which one has been unable to trace any scrupulous regard for strict accuracy, or any real desire to promote the welfare of the State or of its people. But making all allowance for the fact that attacks of that nature have frequently been made, it is, I am sure, as plain to Your Highnesses as it is to me that it is more than ever essential in present conditions and in this changing world in which we live that the authorities of the Indian States should without exception make it their constant care to watch for and to remedy any legitimate grievances that may exist in the administrative field. Your Highnesses will agree with me that it is, equally, as clearly in the interests of all Rulers as it is their plain and manifest duty, to ensure by their own close personal interest in the affairs of their State, in the work of their officials, and in the daily life of their subjects, that those subjects have cause for content, that they are not allowed to suffer undue exactions

either on behalf of the State itself or at the call of unworthy officials, and that all genuine grievances receive prompt and active consideration. It goes without saying that an effective machinery by which the authorities of the States can satisfy themselves that all such complaints can readily reach the ears of the Durbar is an essential necessity in present conditions ; and Your Highnesses will all agree with me that it is equally essential that the peoples of the States should feel assured that their wants, their difficulties and their representations will receive the fullest attention and the fullest sympathy. Whatever may be the motives or the causes underlying criticisms of, or attacks on, the Indian States, the vulnerability of Durbars will obviously be increased if any legitimate grievances are left unredressed for agitation to exploit.

It is not to be expected even if every care is taken in those respects that the voice of criticism will be stilled. No Government in the world can in these days of ever-increasing publicity, of ever-increasing public interest in the conduct of administration and in the disposal of the public revenues, hope for this. But the importance of stating your cases will not have escaped the attention of Your Highnesses, and there can be no more effective method of disposing of unjustified criticism of the administration of a State than publicity designed to set out the true facts. There are many States which publish admirable Administration Reports, setting out in detail the true condition of affairs in the State, for all to see. Those States in which this practice has not yet been adopted would, I suggest, do well to consider the advisability of following the example of their neighbours in this matter.

Your Highnesses will have seen the declarations recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government, declarations which I have myself repeated in public utterances, in regard to constitutional changes or developments in the Indian States. Those statements will have made clear the attitude in this matter of His Majesty's Government, which is, I may repeat, that the decision as to the constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State rests with the Ruler himself to take, and that no pressure will be brought to bear on him in this respect by the Paramount Power. Nor will any obstruction be placed in his way by the Paramount Power should he wish to give effect to constitutional advances consistent with his Treaty obligations. The actual form of such constitutional machinery as a Ruler may in these circumstances decide to establish in his State must I readily recognize, vary according to conditions ; and it is obvious that full consideration must be given to local circumstances and conditions, and that the variation in those local circumstances and conditions may be reflected in a variation in the form of constitutional machinery to be devised or adopted in the case of a particular State. But making the fullest allowance for that fact, Your Highnesses will, I am quite certain, agree with me that the more personal the form of rule, the greater is the need for personal touch. He who would be the father of his people must satisfy himself that all classes of his subjects are given their fair share in the benefits of his rule, and that an undue proportion of the revenue of his State is not reserved for his own expenditure. And the fact that the normal sphere of the activities of a

Ruler lies within the four corners of his State calls for no emphasis from me. An absentee Ruler, like an absentee landlord, represents a condition of affairs that has never easily admitted of justification; and that has never been more markedly the case than in the conditions of the present day. That there may on occasion be reasons, over which he has no control, which make it necessary for a Ruler to absent himself for material periods from his territory I of course accept. But Your Highnesses, with your long and wide experience, will agree with me that, in such an event, it is essential that the Ruler so obliged to be absent from the personal direction of affairs in his State should satisfy himself beyond any question that those to whom he entrusts the government of his State are fully worthy of his confidence.

As Your Highnesses have lately been assured, the Paramount Power stands ready to support the Princes in the fulfilment of its Treaty obligations. That does not, I need not say, for a moment mean the Princes themselves are not the primary custodians of their ancient and illustrious heritage. How often has it not been impressed on the Princes of India by those who have had their best interests at heart that they should sink their differences and stand shoulder to shoulder for the good of their States and for their own happiness and peace of mind? Can it honestly be said, looking back as we do today over any period of years, that much has been achieved in pursuance of that advice? There is no class and no community in the world which does not contain its weaker brethren. But it is, as Your Highnesses so well know, the common tendency of mankind to generalise, and one Ruler who ignores the welfare of his subjects is only too apt to be regarded as an embodiment of all his neighbours. Is it not possible that the more far-sighted Princes should combine to point out to such a Ruler by means of friendly advice the error of his ways, so that discredit may not be brought upon the entire Princely Order?

In no case is the need for co-operation and combination more patent, more pronounced, and more immediate than in the case of the smaller States. Those States whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards have indeed no other practical alternative before them. I would take this opportunity to impress on the Rulers of such States, with all the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of taking the earliest possible steps to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services so far as this is practicable. In doing so, they can rely upon receiving all possible assistance and advice from me and from my advisers. But the need is urgent and pressing. It calls for prompt action on the part of those concerned, and it is, in my judgment, vital in the interests of the smaller States themselves that no time whatever should be lost in taking the necessary steps.

Your Highnesses, I have touched in the few remarks I have had the pleasure of addressing to you today on matters of great significance and great consequence to the States and to their Rulers. I feel sure that the significance of what I have said will not be lost

upon you at a moment such as the present, of crucial importance in the development of the history of India. I do not desire to detain you longer this morning. Let me only again thank you for the opportunity of seeing you, and extend my best good wishes to you for a profitable session and for the successful discharge of the business which lies before us."

45. IMPROVING QUALITY OF CATTLE

July 22, 1939

Addressing the inaugural meeting of the General Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society in Simla, on July 22, Lord Linlithgow envisaged the Society's eventual development into a central organization in India directing and assisting similar efforts in the various provinces and States, fostering the highest standards in breeding and management, setting the seal of its approval upon the careful, conscientious breeder and including in its scope other animals of importance in India's rural economy, such as sheep, goats and camels, and poultry.

Lord Linlithgow said:—

"It is a great pleasure for me to be with you today at this inaugural meeting of the General Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society.

It is now some years ago since I first had occasion to apply my mind to the rural economy of India. The more I have studied the problems of the countryside, and the life and work of the Indian farmer the more I have been impressed by the urgent need for bettering the quality of India's cattle and for improving the practice of animal husbandry throughout the country. It is no doubt true that there are many directions in which the methods of farming and the prosperity of the farmer can be advanced. I am however convinced that no particular line of advance offers prospects more attractive, or promises so early and so considerable an economic reward, as the improvement of cattle and their better care. Indeed, there is hardly a Province or State in India where the improvement of the indigenous livestock does not hold out possibilities of an incalculable increase in the total wealth of the community. For that reason I wholly endorse Sir Jagdish's claim that the all-India character of your membership constitutes the happiest augury for the future of your Society.

Cattle Shows—or more frequently cattle fairs—are a common feature of Indian life. There can be no doubt that these fairs have done much to maintain and stimulate interest in the quality of livestock in India. But the contribution that local fairs or shows can make towards breed improvement, the standardization of breed characteristics and the popularising of successful types, is plainly limited.

What is required, if the best results are to follow, is an exhibition which presents to the interested public the opportunity of viewing, at some convenient centre, the best and most typical animals representing as many as possible of the famous breeds of Indian cattle. Those

are the conditions which are capable of attracting experts from every part of the country as well as from overseas ; and which give to breeders the chance to develop their critical faculty and a keen eye for quality.

The first All-India Cattle Show, held in New Delhi in 1938, was admittedly an experiment. It proved a substantial success and so also did the Show in 1939. They plainly indicated that they were something that everybody wanted, whether farmer, breeder, dealer or ordinary public. To give you one example of a sphere in which they were successful. Sales during the Show are, of course, forbidden. But it is known that sales of a considerable total value resulted directly from the Show. This is eminently satisfactory.

I think too I may safely say that these Shows have placed Indian cattle on the world cattle map. Apart from the fact that illustrated articles regarding Indian cattle are now frequent in journals throughout the world, enquiries have been received from South America, West Indies, Philippines, the Straits Settlements, East Africa, and Iraq regarding Indian cattle. A well-organised show at which the best breeds of cattle are exhibited naturally attracts the attention of agents of purchasers from other countries. Public interest has been stimulated and it is wise to lose no opportunity for maintaining it.

The experience gained from these Shows gave warrant for the setting up of a permanent organisation whose function is to be the conduct, year by year, of the All-India Cattle Show and the carrying on of activities connected therewith, including the furtherance of cattle breeding and the improvement of stock, and ultimately also the conduct of similar activities and organisation of shows in regard to other animals and poultry.

The objects of the Society indicate that for the present your main attention is directed—as indeed I am well aware—to all the activities which in the cattle breeding areas are contributing towards the steady improvement of breeds. In this connection, I was particularly pleased to hear from Sir Jagdish Prasad that as a result of the two Shows already held one breed society has already been formed. I hope it will not now be long before those interested in other breeds will follow suit. I am glad to learn that Provincial Livestock Improvement Associations, District Associations, and Village Improvement Societies are playing an important part in this work in many Provinces and States. In the Punjab alone I am told there are 719 Cattle Improvement Societies, with about 15,000 members. This is admirable. Where such organisations are not available, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research are giving their assistance in the establishment of suitable agencies.

The great importance of breeding from selected sires is everywhere recognised, and in this connection you may be interested to hear the present position in regard to the appeal for the provision of stud bulls, which I myself launched in 1936. The number of approved bulls donated in response to that appeal is now estimated at 3,400. In addition, the authorities throughout India have already provided or have approved schemes for the provision in the near future of about

8,000 approved bulls. Needless to say, it is not sufficient merely to provide a bull. Money must be found and the necessary attention given to maintain the animal in optimum condition. This, I am glad to say, has been arranged in all cases. Again, this by itself is not sufficient.

It is vital to the success of these endeavours that adequate records should be kept of the progeny of approved sires, so that a sustained effort may be made to secure that by due care in subsequent matings the improved strain may be used to the best purpose for raising the general level of the breed. The ultimate success of all our efforts towards breed improvement is entirely dependent upon the maintenance of sufficient and accurate records. Without such recording of pedigree and performance, the impulse will wane, and such improvement as may already have been obtained will be irretrievably lost in the vast aggregate of India's cattle population. It is in matters like this that your Society can do work of the utmost value.

During 1938 and 1939 classes at the All-India Cattle Show have been limited to cattle and buffaloes. That, I think, has been a wise decision, but I am glad to see that your constitution does not prevent your extending your activities at a later date to other kinds of livestock. I have no doubt that, through the Animal Husbandry Commissioner, your Society will be kept in touch with developments in this connection and will be informed, when a stage has been reached, where you can be of assistance. There are other animals of importance in India's rural economy, sheep, goats, camels and poultry, and I have no doubt that, as your Society develops, you will consider whether it is possible for you to include them also. You will not understand me as suggesting that your Society and your Show should immediately undertake these additional activities. I am satisfied that you are not yet in a position to do so. But it is desirable to bear in mind the immense possibilities for good which are latent in a Society such as yours. It is not unreasonable to look forward to the day when you will develop into the Central organisation in India, directing and assisting similar efforts in the various Provinces and States, fostering the highest standards in breeding and management, and setting the seal of your approval upon the careful, conscientious breeder by your selections from the finest animals in the whole country.

I do not overlook the fact that the forecast I have made involves the material consideration of finance. You will, I think, agree that the Central Government have not been ungenerous. They financed the first Show with a grant of Rs. 25,000 and have now placed a lump sum of Rs. 2½ lakhs at your Society's disposal. Admittedly, expenses in the first year or two are likely to be a trifle inflated by what we should ordinarily call non-recurring expenditure. The financial statement, which has been placed before you, shows, however, that you are not likely to bring your annual charges below about half a lakh. I am indeed glad to hear of the generous donations, both of cups and of money, which you have received. You must also be grateful to the Punjab Government which has set aside Rs. 8,000 on each occasion

and has rendered valuable assistance in personnel and material. Considering the extent of the problem with which you deal and its immediate interest to almost every part of India, fifty thousand rupees a year is not a large sum divided among all Provinces and States concerned, and I am confident that the appeal for annual contributions, which is being made, will meet with a ready and generous response. Given adequate finance and the continuance of interest—which as long as India maintains so vast a cattle population and her peoples are so dependent on its quality, must continue—I foresee unlimited scope and usefulness for your Society. It is my constant conviction that those privileged to minister to the true interests of the cultivator have it in their power to strengthen the very life centres of this great country. Therefore I cannot overstate my sense of the value and importance of your mission. I trust that the highest success may reward your labours."

46. PROVINCES AND STATES

"Provinces and States are, and must always be, neighbours. They have each their own part to play in the progress of India, and the parts must be played in harmony and not in dissonance. The virtues of neighbourliness in ordinary community life need no defining by me. Is it too much to hope that these virtues should be projected into a wider relationship of political units?"—said Lord Linlithgow at a banquet given at Cuttack on July 31, 1939, replying to the speech by the Governor of Orissa. Extracts: **July 31, 1939**

" My first duty is to thank Your Excellency for the kind words in which you have proposed my health. I need not say how great a pleasure it is to me to have been able to pay this visit, the first visit paid by a Viceroy to Orissa since the establishment of Orissa as a separate Province. My only regret and one, I know, shared by her is that my wife has not been able to accompany me.

The life of Orissa as a separate Province is not yet a long one, but nevertheless I hasten to assure you all that I am fully conscious of the long history and the distinguished traditions associated with this part of India, and of the importance which Orissa now has in the scheme of India's political life.

Your Excellency's reminder that the area of Orissa is greater than that of my native Scotland, and that its population exceeds that of the continent of Australia, is a timely one and focuses attention on the fact that when considering a political unit its full significance may be overlooked if it is considered only in comparison with other units possibly of a greater political importance. The fact of fundamental importance which has to be remembered is that its problems are problems which concern the lives, the well-being, and the happiness, of many millions of human beings, and of a large area of the earth's surface. It is only in this perspective that one can see the responsibilities of those who guide its Government.

It is natural that a new Province such as this should be faced with many difficult problems intimately associated with its development and with the place which you consider Orissa should rightfully hold among the Provinces of India. In your speech you touched on some of the most important of those problems. I will refer first to the difficult question of your Provincial Capital. After what I have seen today I certainly appreciate the difficulties facing Your Excellency's Government in deciding where to place the new buildings required for your Capital. Popular feeling, as finally expressed in a decision of the Provincial Legislature, has selected the historical site of Cuttack, but lack of space on this small peninsula drives you inevitably to look across the Mahanadi for what I may describe—to use a phrase only too familiar in other connections—as 'living room'.

But I fear that a major bridge formed no part of the estimates when the grants were calculated which make up the 42½ lakhs to be provided by the Central Government to assist Orissa with her building programme; and anxious as I naturally am to lend any possible encouragement in connection with projects the local interest of which is so great, it would be disingenuous of me were I to hold out any hope of further help from Central sources in connection with that programme.

A bridge between Cuttack and Chauduar would not, I fear, supply a link in any trunk road project envisaged by the Transport Advisory Council; and when I tell you that to connect the coastal trunk road from Madras with the trunk road passing through Sambalpur by bridging the Mahanadi and the Katjuri at Cuttack would involve an expenditure in the neighbourhood of Rs. 64 lakhs—nearly three times, in other words, the annual receipts of a Road Fund Reserve which has to serve the needs of all the Provinces and all the States of India, the very great difficulties that stand in the way will be patent to you.

It is never a welcome or a pleasant task to have to remind a Provincial Government that where funds are concerned their claims must be considered in relation to the claims of other parts of India as a whole; and no one, I can assure you, is more conscious of that than I am. But these are facts that must be faced: and, as in the case of the Mahanadi bridge, I could but wish that I could hold out greater hopes to you in connection with the archæological possibilities of Orissa. The potentialities of Orissa as a field for exploration have long been recognised, but the whole field of archæology in India is of such a magnitude that Government effort must necessarily be confined to areas which are universally recognised as being of the greatest importance. I can assure you, however, that the claims of Orissa will not be overlooked.

As one profoundly interested in the well-being of the Indian peasantry I feel deeply the annual toll in misery and loss which floods take of the ryot; and nowhere in India is the sacrifice demanded of the poor on this account greater or more frequent in its infliction than in Orissa.

I am therefore particularly happy that Your Excellency's Government have so early taken steps to investigate the causes of these periodic disasters and to find a remedy. I shall await with much interest the recommendations of the Committee which the Government of Orissa have appointed.

In the meantime you have already received proof of my own practical sympathy and that of my Government in the deputation of Mr. Inglis to assist in the work of the Committee. Not only has Mr. Inglis devoted many years to problems of river control : his presence in Orissa carries with it the guarantee of the technical assistance of the well-known Station of Hydro-dynamic Research at Khadakvasla of which he is the head, and which he has himself built up : and I feel confident that the Committee will turn to the fullest advantage the expert advice which Mr. Inglis and the Khadakvasla Station are so well qualified to give.

You have mentioned the need for greater activity in educational, medical and similar development, particularly in the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Koraput. There is no need for me to remind you that the primary responsibility for work on these and allied problems falls upon the Provinces, not upon the Central Government. But I should like to take this opportunity to emphasize the facilities provided by the Central Government for the co-ordination of information through such bodies as the Central Advisory Boards on Education and on Public Health, and I can assure you that the expert advisers with the Central Government will at all times be ready to lend their assistance in the examination of any schemes which the Provincial Government may have in mind.

I have reserved to the last the first problem to which Your Excellency drew my attention, namely, the relations between the people of the Province of Orissa and those in the neighbouring States. It is only natural that the people of Orissa should take a close interest in their neighbours who speak the same language and are imbued with the same culture. The physical boundary between the two is unsubstantial ; backwards and forwards across it there flows a daily traffic of family and social intercourse, of business, and of trade. I have indeed, as you mentioned, been giving my constant attention during my term of office to the problem of the relation between States and British India and not least to relations between the Province of Orissa and the peoples of the Eastern States. It has always been my endeavour, and will continue to be so, to assist the Rulers of these States in advancing the prosperity and contentment of their subjects.

And I am glad of Your Excellency's assurance that the people of Orissa desire to maintain the most friendly relations both with the Rulers of the Orissa States and with their subjects. Provinces and States are and must always be neighbours. They have each their own part to play in the progress of India, but the parts must be played in harmony and not in dissonance. The virtues of neighbourliness in ordinary community life need no defending by

me. Is it too much to hope that these virtues should be projected into the wider relationship of political units ?

Your Excellency was good enough at the beginning of your speech to pay a very kind tribute to myself and to my work in India. Let me say at once that such success as I may have attained would not have been possible had it not been for the loyal and strenuous co-operation of my colleagues, the Governors. I realise to the full the burden of responsibility which they carry—a burden which has at any time in the past been a heavy one ; and to which in your case, Sir John, there have been added in the last three years not only the problems inseparable from the introduction of a new form of Constitution but those associated with the creation of a new Province. I should like, if I may, to pay a well-merited tribute to Your Excellency's labours and your skilful handling of the many problems both of the new Constitution and of Orissa.

I have no doubt that Orissa owes, and will continue to owe, a very considerable debt of gratitude to her first Governor.

I would like, too, to associate in this tribute Lady Hubback. I well know how much her devoted assistance has meant to Your Excellency. I know too with how much sympathy and how much success she has played her part in the furthering of all good causes and in the relief of suffering, not only in this Province but in the other parts of India in which you and she have served. It gave me the greatest pleasure to present personally to you, Lady Hubback, here in this Province the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal which you have so well deserved.

Let me in conclusion pay a tribute to the Ministers now carrying on the Government.

Those who have experienced it will testify that the guidance of the ship of State in these troubled times is no easy task, but I am sure you will agree that the energy and resource with which the Ministry here have tackled their problems is an encouraging augury for the future.

I thank you again, Your Excellency, for your most generous welcome. I take again this opportunity of saying how glad I am to have visited Orissa and I wish yourself, Lady Hubback, and the Province success and, perhaps, in these dark days, an equally important wish, freedom from trouble. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink the health of His Excellency the Governor of Orissa, coupled with the name of Lady Hubback."

47. VISIT TO FAMINE AREA

Replying to addresses of welcome from the Hissar District Board and the Hissar District Soldiers' Board on August 6, 1939, Lord Linlithgow paid a tribute to the Punjab Services for their efficient work during the famine in Hissar District and elsewhere. **Aug. 6, 1939**

" You all know how, as a countryman, I enjoy visiting rural areas and seeing the country people of India against their true and proper background. As an old soldier too it is always a great pleasure for me to meet old soldiers and those who have upheld the great martial traditions of the Punjab in all parts of the world. I am grateful for your assurances of loyalty and devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The tradition of loyalty in the Punjab is a great one and I am confident that in these troublous times the Punjab still remains true to this great tradition that it always had.

I note with pleasure the appreciative terms in which you speak of the efficiency and generosity of the measures taken by Government to deal with this famine.

I would like myself to take this opportunity of paying my tribute also to the measures which they have taken in this connection. To see the efforts of the Government in true perspective it must be realised that the famine was not confined to Hissar District alone and that the Provincial Government had to organise relief on an extensive scale and to incur heavy expenditure in the Rohtak and Gurgaon Districts also. I have perused with great interest reports dealing with the steps taken by Government, and I am deeply impressed by their completeness and by the scale and the value of the work which they record.

Fodder supplies for the maintenance of plough and milch cattle were guaranteed, and the famous breeds with which this District is associated have been preserved. It is gratifying to note also that the quality of animals has been maintained and that the difference between the 1938 and 1939 prices at the Hissar Cattle Fair has been so small. Owing to the intense activity of the Veterinary Department no contagious disease broke out among cattle.

Let me add that I hope that in future years cattle from this District may compete successfully at the All-India Cattle Show.

The relief works, of which the carefully devised sanitary and hygienic arrangements have been so marked a feature, have been both extensive and useful. The sustained efforts which the Medical and Public Health Departments of the Punjab Government have been making to safeguard the health of the population in these famine-stricken areas have been outstanding, and I have noted with particular interest the efforts made to supply the deficiency in vitamins in the ordinary diet by the distribution of carrots and codliver oil.

In paying my tribute to the Punjab Government and especially to the Ministers mainly responsible, I would like, with your permission, Sir Sikander, to compliment also the permanent officials and the technical

officers on their excellent work, and on the energy and the close personal interest they have without exception displayed through a period of such prolonged anxiety. It would be invidious to single out individuals, but I feel I can without fear of arousing jealousy extend my warmest congratulations on the admirable results achieved to Mr. Dobson, to Mr. Hearn, to Mr. Brander, on whom a particularly heavy burden has fallen, to Mr. Bryan who was Deputy Commissioner when the famine work started and to whom great credit is due for its organisation on the right lines, and to the Fodder Adviser, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fateh-ud-din. I can pay them no higher tribute than to say that they have maintained to the full the very high standard which we have come to expect to be associated with Punjab Services.

As I mentioned before, it is always a great pleasure to meet old soldiers and I was much interested to hear the activities of the Hissar District Soldiers' Board. It is clear that despite the lack of funds to which you refer the Board has been doing most active and useful work. I note with especial interest the assistance rendered by it in connection with the famine.

You will not expect me to deal at length with the interesting points you have raised in your address which relate to the particular problems of the martial classes to which I listened with the greatest interest. I note with satisfaction your appreciation and gratitude for the extensive famine relief measures introduced by the Punjab Government, and your emphasis on the proof which they constitute of the sympathy for the Hissar District of your Premier and his colleagues. Their constant interest in the welfare of the inhabitants, not only of Hissar but of the Punjab as a whole, needs no comment from me : and it is, in my opinion, a sufficient guarantee that the interests of the martial classes are in safe hands.

I note with satisfaction the resolution that in the event of war the martial classes of the Hissar District would offer their services in person and place all their resources at the disposal of Government. As I have said before these renewed assurances of loyalty are encouraging in times such as these. I only pray that circumstances should not arise in which you should be called upon to put into effect this resolution.

Gentlemen, I repeat again that it has been a great pleasure for me to visit Hissar today. I have been much interested in all I have seen. I am gratified to hear such sincere appreciation of the efforts of your Government and I am gratified that I have seen with my own eyes that these efforts have been successful and that Hissar has weathered conditions which tested the endurance of its inhabitants to the utmost. In taking my leave I wish you all, Gentlemen, the best of good fortune and freedom from the ills which have beset you in the past."

48. RULERS FREE TO CHOOSE

While Lord Linlithgow regards the Federal offer as " a fair offer and a well-balanced one,"—otherwise he could not, with clear conscience, have commended it to the Ruling Chiefs—he tells them that the " choice is a free choice of each individual, and it is for him, and for him alone to make up his own mind as to what decision he wishes to take." **Aug. 21 1939**

A suggestion was prominently brought to his notice, that " a Prince who rejects out of hand the Federal offer will be exhibiting by his action his loyalty to the Crown!" Nothing " could be a more fantastic or a more improper suggestion."

Another suggestion was made that " Imperial " interests were likely to suffer injury from the Federal scheme. Lord Linlithgow assures Their Highnesses that all relevant considerations were before His Majesty's Government and Parliament when they approved of the scheme.

Speech to the members of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes on August 21, 1939 :—

" Your Highnesses,—It gave me great pleasure to accept the suggestion made to me by His Highness the Chancellor that I should receive the Members of the Standing Committee at Simla so that I might appreciate the difficulties of an important section of the Princely Order in regard to the Federal offer, and do what I could to dispel those difficulties, and I extend a very warm welcome to you this afternoon.

I think it will be best that I should make at the beginning of these proceedings some general observations. I shall, I need not say, be very glad to listen to any general comments which thereafter Your Highnesses may wish to make to me on the situation or on particular difficulties, and I think that when I have had the opportunity of hearing any such general comments should you, at this stage, desire to make any such comments, the best course will be that Your Highnesses should discuss the problems which are in your minds in their more technical and detailed aspects with my Political Department.

Let me, in the first instance, say how fully conscious I am of the onerous nature of the decision which it falls to the Princes to take at the present juncture. The choice is the free choice of each individual Ruler, and it is for him, and for him alone, to make up his own mind as to what decision he wishes to take. I have repeatedly made that clear in public ; it has been made clear by His Majesty's Government on various occasions ; and it is, I am satisfied, fully appreciated by the Princes ; but I think it well to take the opportunity of our meeting today again to place it on record. I think it desirable to do so because I have frankly been surprised to learn that the suggestion has been made in some quarters that my officers have been endeavouring to bring pressure to bear on Their Highnesses as to the course which they should adopt. So far as I know there is no foundation whatever for

that allegation. That I myself regard the federal offer as a fair offer and a well-balanced one I have never concealed from Your Highnesses or from the public. I could not, with a clear conscience, have been responsible, under the instructions of His Majesty's Government, for communicating that offer to the Ruling Chiefs, had I not been entirely satisfied in my own mind on that point, as I am sure Your Highnesses will agree. That the offer may not in all respects come up to the expectations of individual Rulers, that it may in certain respects be unsatisfactory from their point of view, I, of course, readily accept as possible. But that does not affect my main point—that the offer, carefully worked out after long and patient discussion and investigation of the legitimate claims of the different Rulers and of the various other factors that have to be taken into consideration, represents an honest and sincere endeavour on the part of His Majesty's Government to put to the Princely Order propositions which in the view of His Majesty's Government may be regarded as representing a reasonable proposal. The offer has, as Your Highnesses are well aware, been elaborated with the utmost care; and I think you will agree that no pains have been spared by His Majesty's Government, by my officers, or by myself, to give all possible assistance to the Princes with a view to clarifying points, and removing misunderstandings, which may arise in connection with it.

I have been gratified to receive replies which have made it clear to me that the offer is regarded as fair and reasonable by Princes of great importance and representing very varied circumstances. But other of the replies I have so far received have shown me that in the case of certain Princes there are aspects of the offer, which they regard as open to exception. The extent to which, as my original letter of January 27th made clear, any modification is now practicable, is very limited indeed. For, as Your Highnesses will appreciate, our hands are closely tied. But you will find my department very ready to discuss the matters of concern to you in close detail; and I shall always, I need not say, be ready to give my own close and sympathetic attention to any points which you may wish to bring to my notice.

Your Highnesses need no assurances from me of my anxiety to further the interests, and to meet the difficulties, of the Princely Order, consistently with the other obligations which fall upon me. I doubt if there is very much that I can profitably say to Your Highnesses of a general character today as regards the decision that falls to you. As I mentioned earlier, the decision is solely for yourselves to take; and I do not know that there are any considerations likely to be of assistance to Your Highnesses in making up your minds that I can lay before you; for you are already fully familiar with the field and with the arguments for and against Accession. There are one or two points that have always carried weight with me personally, in my judgment of the federal offer. Though I think you are familiar with them already, I might perhaps mention them again.

The first is the federal offer in relation to the full and future security of the States. The offer embodies the safeguards which His

Majesty's Government regard as appropriate and sufficient for that purpose. The federation is one in which the Princely Order will carry a very substantial voice—125 seats, or one-third, in the Lower House, and 104 seats, or two-fifths, in the Upper House. This has always seemed to me to be a bloc which, if the Princely Order are wise, and hold together, no political party can possibly afford to ignore.

Secondly, the situation which arises if the majority, in the terms of the Act, of the Princely Order elect to stand aside from the scheme of federation which has been offered to them by His Majesty's Government, and allow British India to develop on its own. It is not for me to say, or to predict, what lines political development may follow in British India. But, whatever may be the form and nature of such political development, it will be contrary to all the teachings of history to imagine that, on whatever basis, and in whatever form, it is not going to come; while in particular the difficulty of conceiving the retention of the present so-called "irresponsible Centre" as at present constituted for any indefinite period, is, I am sure, as present to Your Highnesses as to other skilled observers of the political situation. To what extent the form of Government that may emerge from such development as I have referred to is likely to be more, or less, satisfactory from the point of view of Princely India, remaining outside, is for Your Highnesses to judge. I have only been concerned to do what I can to secure that injury may not be done by the suggestion that the hopes of a federation of India, and of the welding of India into a single whole, based on the Act of 1935, have been prevented from fulfilment by the abstention of the Princely Order, leading members of which were directly responsible for the emergence of the ideal of a federation of India from the proceedings of the Round Table Conference.

Finally, since the anxiety of His Majesty's Government and the Crown Representative to defend and support the Princes in their rights and privileges must always be great, I have asked myself whether the scheme of federation is the alternative that will best assist His Majesty's Government and the Crown Representative in that responsible task. The conclusion I have myself reached you know; but that is merely my personal point of view; and the decision on this point, as on the several points which have carried weight with me, and on the offer as a whole, must be the free untrammelled decision of the individual members of the Princely Order.

There is, however, one point which I ought in fairness to mention to Your Highnesses today, since it has been brought prominently to my notice. That is the suggestion that a Prince who rejects out of hand the federal offer will be exhibiting by his action his loyalty to the Crown. Nothing, Your Highnesses will agree with me, could be a more fantastic or a more improper suggestion. I would not have mentioned it to you today had it not been that in at any rate two replies which I have had from the Princes, I saw what I took to be a reference to it. The suggestion has equally been

made to me that what have been described by at any rate one Ruler as "Imperial interests" were likely to suffer injury from the Federal scheme. Your Highnesses need no assurance from me that His Majesty's Government have all relevant considerations of that order before them today, as indeed they, and Parliament, had in approving this scheme.

Let me finally say that, to those who have made up their minds that the scheme of federation is definitely unacceptable, there is nothing more to be said. The choice is theirs. To those who are inclined to believe that federation is the right solution, but who would like their existing objections to be, as far as practicable, removed, I would say this :

Many years have been spent in considering the idea of federation ; in protracted preliminary discussions ; in the preparation and passing of the Government of India Act ; in the elaboration of the Instruments of Accession, with its schedules and limitations ; and in the presentation of the offer to the States. The time for decision —a decision falling to be taken, in his own free judgment, by each individual Prince—is drawing to its conclusion. No one can reasonably expect that he will secure everything that he might at any moment wish in this world. British Indian criticism of the probable terms of the offer has already been vocal. It would be too much to hope that its volume will not increase once the terms of the offer are published. Nor is it to be expected, as I have mentioned already, that every detail of the offer will be entirely welcome to each individual Prince.

There is nothing more I think that I can say to Your Highnesses, save that now, as always, you can rely on my sympathy for your position ; and on my full appreciation of the responsibilities that weigh upon you ; and that you may be certain that so far as I can continue to be of assistance to Your Highnesses, or to any Member of the Princely Order, in dissipating misunderstanding, clearing up doubtful points, or investigating particular aspects of the many difficult questions that have confronted us in connection with the federal offer, all the help that I can give you through my officers is and will continue to be at your disposal."



H. E. the Viceroy presenting the V.C. to Capt. P. S. Bhagat, I

PART III

THE WAR

1. CLEAR ISSUES

Nowhere do the great principles which stand challenged by the Nazis, mean more than in India. " There is no country that values them more highly than India, and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them"—says Lord Linlithgow in his message to India of September 3, 1939. Full text :— **Sept. 3, 1939**

" You have all heard that early on Friday morning the German armed forces invaded Polish territory. The German Government presented no ultimatum. They gave the Polish Government warning. Their war planes are reported to be bombing open towns, and heavy casualties have already been inflicted among the civilian population.

It is clear beyond any question from what has happened that Poland has had to face the same threat that Czechoslovakia had to face a year ago. Confronted with the demand that she should accept the dictation of a foreign power in relation to her own territory and her own subjects, Poland has elected to stand firm. At this moment her troops are bravely defending the frontiers against the ruthless power that seeks to overwhelm her. His Majesty's Government, and the Government of France, have made it clear that they stand behind the former pledges against aggression which they had given to Poland. It is in these circumstances that we find ourselves at war with Germany today.

The issues that emerge are clear. Acceptance of the policy and the methods which Germany has adopted would make life in the world impossible. It would represent the triumph of aggression and the supremacy of the rule of force. In circumstances such as these there could be no security in the world, and no peace of mind for any of us. The ruthless onslaught of Germany on Poland, without a declaration of war, is in keeping with the rest of her conduct in this matter. What faces us today is the safeguarding of principles vital to the future of humanity, principles of international justice and international morality, the principle that civilised man must agree to settle disputes between nations by reason and not by force, the principle that in the affairs of men the law of the jungle, the will of the strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot be allowed to prevail. To fail to take up this challenge would be to destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and true development. So long as this cruel and ruthless thing is in the world, there can be no freedom of the spirit for humanity.

cynical disregard for the principles that regulate the intercourse of nation with nation ; an anxiety to turn to the fullest advantage the absence of preparedness of those nations who had believed in the sanctity and in the sacredness of the undertakings given on behalf of a great nation by the Rulers of that nation.

Now that the decision is taken, now that it is clear that no course other than armed resistance will enable us, and the countries allied with us, to preserve the principles for which we fight, I would make only one appeal today. My appeal is one for unity. In the Message which I have just read His Imperial Majesty has told us of the deep satisfaction caused to him, by, in his own words, 'the widespread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arms.' Our task must be to vindicate the principles at stake, to work together in the closest unity for the furthering of our common object. Nothing could be more significant than the unanimity of approach of all in India—the Princes, the leaders of the great political parties, the ordinary man and woman ; or than the contributions, whether in offers of personal service, of men, of money, that have already reached me from the Princes and the people of India. There could be no more striking evidence of the depth of the appeal of the issues now before us. I am confident that however difficult may be the days that lie ahead of us (and the teaching of history shows us clearly the folly of assuming in a struggle of the magnitude of the present that victory will be easy, or that the course of the campaign, whatever it may be, will be unchequered) India will speak and act as one, and that her contribution will be worthy of her ancient name.

Gentlemen, in circumstances such as those in which we are met together today you will not expect me to deal with the matters of more ordinary interest which in the normal course would have figured in my address to the Central Legislature. I am certain that I shall be voicing the wishes of all of you if I confine my remarks today to the war and to the issues that directly concern or arise out of war. But I feel that it is only proper that I should express my own confidence that, whatever may be the tasks that, as the campaign develops, may fall to the lot of our Defence Forces, whether by sea, by land, or in the air, the response will be one worthy of those glorious traditions the fame and renown of which are world-wide. They are already, as you know, represented overseas, and our fighting forces can claim to be assisting, at the very outset of the war, in holding posts of vast and critical importance.

To the civil population of the country, and to the civil services, whether at the centre or in the provinces, I would say that past experience has shown the spirit in which we may anticipate their answer to the new call which is being made upon them, and to the new tasks which they have to undertake. These are anxious and difficult times, in which heavy burdens, personal as well as general, must necessarily weigh upon all of us whoever and wherever we may be. I am certain that those burdens will be sustained in a manner worthy of our past.

Before I conclude my remarks to you today there are two matters, both of them arising out of the present situation, on which I would say a word. The first is the acceptance by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India of the conclusions of Lord Chatfield's Committee as expressed in the recently published Despatch. That decision marks an epoch in the history of Indian defence. The grave problems which confronted us in the matter of defence consequent on changes in the international situation and the development of modern armaments are now in a fair way to solution. They have been the constant concern of my advisers, and particularly of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, for many months past. The result of the deliberations which have taken place is, on a broad view, satisfactory in the highest degree. In particular I am glad to think not only that the improvements so essential at the present stage of the world's history should be so far advanced, but that, thanks to the most generous measure of help which has been extended to us, the necessity of laying heavy additional burdens on the Indian taxpayer has been avoided. The profound significance of the decisions that have been taken lies in the fact that India,—so largely an agricultural country, which could never, save at the cost of a complete disregard of other calls, have hoped to make available the vast sums of money necessary for re-equipment and modernization,—has, thanks to the gift which she has received from His Majesty's Government, been placed in the same position in relation to the modernization of her army as the great industrial nations of the world.

I will add only one word more, in regard to our federal preparations. Those preparations, as you are aware, are well advanced, and great labour has been lavished on them in the last three years. Federation remains as before the objective of His Majesty's Government; but you will understand, Gentlemen, without any elaborate exposition on my part, the compulsion of the present international situation, and the fact that, given the necessity for concentrating on the emergency that confronts us, we have no choice but to hold in suspense the work in connection with preparations for federation, while retaining federation as our objective.

Had we met in more normal times, there would have been many other matters to mention to you today,—the position of Indians overseas; the various developments of interest and importance which are under consideration in civil administration; the working of provincial autonomy and of the reformed constitution. But, as I have already suggested, I feel certain that at a time when the struggle which is raging elsewhere is uppermost in our thoughts, this is a moment in which that emergency, and matters directly associated with that emergency, must be of predominant and, in a sense, of almost exclusive importance. Our trust must be that, under Providence, the forces of right and of justice will triumph, and that we may be able to take up again those interrupted activities on which we have been engaged for the furtherance of the constructive work of peace, and of the progress and the prosperity of India."

3. CLEAR AND POSITIVE POLICY

Oct. 18, 1939

In describing Britain's war aims, the intentions of the British Government towards India, the method by which Indians were to be associated more closely in the prosecution of the war, Lord Linlithgow in a statement issued on Oct. 18, 1939, repeated His Majesty's Government's " clear and positive " policy that Dominion Status was the natural issue of India's progress. He announced that at the end of the war His Majesty's Government would be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests in India and with the Indian Princes with a view to secure their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications in the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 as might seem desirable.

With the best will in the world, he continued, progress must be conditioned by practical considerations.

The situation must be faced in terms of world politics and of political realities in India. Full text :

" Since the outbreak of war and more particularly during the last four weeks I have been in the closest touch with the leaders of political opinion in British India and with representatives of the Princely Order ; and I have spared no effort to acquaint myself by personal discussion with the trend of feeling; to ascertain the views of the different sections of public opinion in this country on the great questions of the day, and in particular on this question of the basis on which, and the extent to which, India could best co-operate in the prosecution of the war ; and to satisfy myself as to the extent to which a basis of common agreement exists, and as to the manner in which the position, so far as it may still remain obscure, can best be clarified. Matters have now reached a point at which, in my judgment, it would be well that I should make a statement designed, in the light of the discussions which I have had during these past few weeks, to clear the position on the main questions which emerge at the present moment. I would make a preliminary observation. I have had the advantage of a full and frank discussion with no fewer than 52 people—with Mr. Gandhi, with the President and Members of the Congress Working Committee, with Mr. Jinnah and with representative Members of the Muslim League Organization, with the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and with a great variety of persons prominent in the political life of British India.

As was only to be expected, conversations with representatives of so many different points of view revealed marked differences of outlook, markedly different demands, and markedly different solutions for the problems that lie before us. Again, and that too was what might have been expected at a time such as the present, reservations or demands for special protection on one side have tended to be balanced by proposals for still more marked constitutional changes on another. I would ask that these differences of view, deeply and sincerely held, I have not the least doubt, by those who have advanced them to me, should be borne in mind when we consider our present problems, for they have a very direct and obvious relevance to them.

I trust most earnestly that I shall be able to dispel certain misapprehensions which are, I am clear, widely and genuinely held, and that, even if to a degree more limited than has been urged upon me from many quarters, I may be able to clarify the position as regards our hopes and our objectives for India, and to make some little contribution to the removal of the obstacles which existing doubts on that point have caused to that full, generous, and ready co-operation which it is I am certain her anxiety and that of her peoples to give today to a good cause.

The essential matters on which a clarification of the position is beyond any question desired are—

First, What are the objectives of His Majesty's Government in the war ? To what extent are they of such a character that India with her long history and great traditions can, with a clear conscience, associate herself with them ?

Second, What is the future that is contemplated in the constitutional sphere for the Indian Continent ? What are the intentions of His Majesty's Government ? Is it possible to define those intentions more precisely and in such a manner as to leave the world in no doubt as to the ultimate status envisaged for India as far as the British Commonwealth is concerned ?

Third, In what way can the desire of India and of Indian public opinion for a closer association, and an effective association, with the prosecution of the war best be satisfied ?

Let me deal with these questions in the order in which I have stated them. Let me in the first place consider to what extent in existing conditions and at this stage in the development of the campaign on which we are engaged any positive and satisfactory answer admits of being given to the demand for a more precise definition of our objectives. In endeavouring to answer that question I do not propose to touch on the question of our objectives for India. That is a matter which I will deal with separately in answering the second question which I have mentioned above. His Majesty's Government have not themselves yet defined with any ultimate precision their detailed objectives in the prosecution of the war. It is obvious that such a definition can come only at a later stage in the campaign, and that when it does come, it cannot be a statement of the aims of any single ally. There may be many changes in the world position and in the situation that confronts us before the war comes to an end, and much must depend on the circumstances in which it does come to an end, and on the intervening course of the campaign.

The experience of all history shows in these circumstances the unwisdom and the impracticability of precise definition at so early a stage as that which we have now reached. But the fact that, for the reasons I have given, precise definition is not practicable does not mean, as I see it, that there is any real doubt, or any uncertainty, in the minds of the public, whether in India or in the United Kingdom or in any allied country, as to the motives which have actuated us in

entering into the war, and consequently the broad general objectives which we have before us in the campaign which is now being waged. We are fighting to resist aggression whether directed against ourselves or others. Our general aims have been stated by the Prime Minister within the last few days as follows:—'We are seeking no material advantage for ourselves. We are not aiming only at victory, but looking beyond it to laying a foundation of a better international system which will mean that war is not to be the inevitable lot of each succeeding generation. We, like all the peoples of Europe, long for peace; but it must be a real and settled peace, not an uneasy truce interrupted by constant alarms and threats.' This statement, I think, clearly establishes the nature of the cause for which we are fighting, and justifies, if justification is needed, the extension by India of her moral support and her goodwill to the prosecution of that cause.

Let me turn now to the second question which has been put to me—the question of India's future and of the lines of her constitutional development. That is a question, I am certain in the light of my conversations, which is of the greatest and most acute interest to all parties and all sections of opinion in this country. As matters stand today, the constitutional position of India and the policy of His Majesty's Government are governed by the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. Part III of that Act, which provides for the conferment of Provincial Autonomy on the Provinces of British India, has been implemented. For nearly 2½ years now the Provinces have been conducting their own affairs under the scheme of the Act. That they have done so, on the whole, with great success, even if now and then difficulties have arisen, no one can question. Whatever the political party in power in those provinces all can look with satisfaction on a distinguished record of public achievement during the last 2½ years. The experience that they have had has shown beyond any question that whatever minor problems the application of the scheme of the Act may have presented, whatever difficulties may have confronted us in the operation of the Act from time to time in the provincial sphere, the scheme of the Act is essentially sound, and that it transfers great power and gives great opportunities to popularly elected governments dependent on the support of a majority in their legislatures.

The second stage contemplated by the Act was the reconstitution of the Central Government on such a basis as to achieve the essential goal of Indian unity. The method contemplated for that purpose was the achievement of a Federation of All-India, in which the representatives of all political parties in British India would, together with the Rulers of the Indian States, form a unified Government of India as a whole. I am only too conscious of the severity of the criticisms that have been advanced from many different points of view against the federal scheme and against the arrangements embodied in Part II of the Act. I will say today no more than that, having myself had so close a familiarity not only with the framing of the provisions, but with the preliminary work which has been done with a view to putting them into force, I have throughout believed that the federal scheme in its operation would have turned out as satisfactorily as, broadly

speaking, we can all of us regard the scheme of Provincial Autonomy as having turned out. I will not dilate on that subject today, for our work in connection with the federal scheme has been suspended. But in reaffirming as I do my belief in the essential soundness of the federal aspects of the Act of 1935, I do so with the greater emphasis because of the evidence which the federal provisions of the Act constitute of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to achieve, with the minimum of delay, and on the basis which appears to represent the greatest amount of agreement between the various parties and interests affected, the unity of India, and to advance beyond a further and a most important milestone on the road to India's goal.

Such being the background against which we are working, what are the intentions and aims of His Majesty's Government in relation to India ? I cannot do better in reply to that question than to refer to the statement made on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and with their full authority, by the late Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the 6th February 1935. That statement makes the position clear beyond a shadow of doubt. It refers to the pledge given in the Preamble of the Act of 1919, and it makes it clear that it was no part of the plan of His Majesty's Government to repeal that pledge. It confirms equally the interpretation placed in 1929 by Lord Irwin, as Viceroy, again on the authority of the Government of the day, on that Preamble, that "the natural issue of India's progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status." I need not dilate on the words of that statement. They are clear and positive. They are enshrined in the parliamentary record. They stand as a definite and categorical exposition of the policy of His Majesty's Government today, and of their intentions today in this end, the future constitutional development and position of India. I would add only that the Instrument of Instructions issued to me as Governor-General by His Majesty the King-Emperor in May 1937 lays upon me as Governor-General a direction so to exercise the trust which His Majesty has reposed in me "that the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within our Empire may be furthered to the end that India may attain its due place among our Dominions."

That is the policy and that is the position. Those are the intentions of His Majesty's Government. Let me go on to say another word about the Act of 1935. That Act was based on the greatest measure of common agreement which it was possible to obtain at the time when it was framed. It was based, as is well known to all of us, on the common labours of British and Indian statesmen, and of representatives of British India as well as of the Indian States over a long period of years. All parties were at one stage or other closely associated with those deliberations. And I can speak from personal experience when I bear tribute to the extreme anxiety of all those of us on whom, in the Joint Select Committee, there fell the more particular responsibility for devising proposals for the consideration of Parliament, to ensure that the fullest account had been taken of all interests ; of the views of all political parties ; and that nothing had been left undone to ensure that the outcome of our labours reflected the

greatest measure of agreement practicable in the conditions that confronted us.

Be that as it may, His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, to which I have just referred, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate. And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests, in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable.

I have, I trust, in what I have just said, made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is, as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions. The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process. But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views. And I would make it clear, too, that it will be their object, as at all times in the past it has been to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal. Let me in that connection add that in the conversations I have had, representatives of the minorities have urged most strongly on me the necessity of a clear assurance that full weight would be given to their views and to their interests in any modifications that may be contemplated. On that I need say no more than that, over more than a decade, at the three Round Table Conferences, and at the Joint Select Committee, His Majesty's Government consulted with and had the assistance of the advice of representatives of all parties and all interests in this country. It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh, or to modify in any respect, any important part of India's future Constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament.

That some even more extensive scheme than I have mentioned, some even more widely phrased indication of the intentions of His Majesty's Government, is desired in certain quarters in this country, I am fully aware from the conversations I have had during these last few weeks. That that is a desire held with sincerity, and that those who hold it are convinced that it is in the manner in question that the future progress and development of India and the expressed intentions of His Majesty's Government can best be fulfilled, I fully and readily accept. I would utter one word only of caution. And if

I say that the situation must be faced in terms of world politics and of political realities in this country, I do so from no lack of sympathy, and no lack of appreciation of the motives that weigh with the people of India and the ideals that appeal to them. But I would urge that it is essential in matters of this nature, affecting the future of tens of millions of people, affecting the relations of the great communities, affecting the Princes of India, affecting the immense commercial and industrial enterprises, whether Indian or European in this country, that the largest measure of agreement practicable should be achieved. With the best will in the world, progress must be conditioned by practical considerations. I am convinced myself, if I may say so with the utmost emphasis, that, having regard to the extent of agreement which in fact exists in the constitutional field, and on this most difficult and important question of the nature of the arrangements to be made for expediting and facilitating the attainment by India of her full status, there is nothing to be gained by phrases which, widely and generally expressed, contemplate a state of things which is unlikely to stand at the present point of political development the test of practical application, or to result in that unified effort by all parties and all communities in India on the basis of which alone India can hope to go forward as one and to occupy the place to which her history and her destinies entitle her. I would ask that these words of caution be not taken as indicating any lack of sympathy on the part of His Majesty's Government for the aspirations of India, or any indifference to the pace of her advance : and I would repeat that His Majesty's Government are but concerned to use their best endeavours, now as in the past, to bring about that measure of agreement and understanding between all parties and all interests in this country which is so essential a condition of progress towards India's goal.

I turn now to the arrangements to be made to secure the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war. India's contribution has already been great, great to a degree which has impressed the imagination of the world. At the head of the list I would put the contribution which India has made in spiritual, and not in material, terms—the support of her peoples for a cause which they can regard as a good and a righteous cause. In the material field equally her contribution is already most significant, and may be greater still. And in the circumstances the desire, the anxiety, of public opinion in India to be associated with the conduct of the war is naturally one with which I personally have throughout felt the greatest sympathy. In the circumstances I have described, the desirability of steps to ensure that leaders of public opinion should be in the closest touch with developments is of the first importance.

I have discussed with the utmost frankness with the leaders of the various parties who have been good enough to come to see me in connection with the constitutional position, by what machinery we could best give effect to this desire. We have examined a variety of expedients, and there has been no hesitation on the part of any of us in assessing the advantages and the disadvantages presented by each of them. I do not propose today to examine those various

alternatives in particular detail. I will only say that in the light of my conversations and of the views (by no means always in accord) of representatives of the great parties and of the Princes I am of opinion that the right solution would be the establishment of a consultative group, representative of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian Princes, over which the Governor-General would himself preside, which would be summoned at his invitation, and which would have as its object the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war and with questions relating to war activities.

This group, for practical reasons, would inevitably be limited in size. But His Majesty's Government contemplate that it should be fully representative, and in particular that its personnel should be drawn by the Governor-General from panels prepared by the various major political parties, from which a selection of individuals to attend meetings of the group would be made by the Governor-General. I hope in the very near future to enter into consultation with political leaders and with the Princes on this question. I have no doubt whatever that an arrangement of this nature will most materially contribute to associating the Indian States and British India with the steps which are being taken for the prosecution of the war and with the arrangements that are being made in that connection: and I am confident, too, that in an association of this nature of representatives of all parties and all interests there lies the germ of that fuller and broader association of all points of view in this country which contains in it the seeds of such advantage for the future of India as a whole.

When I spoke to the Central Legislature a month ago, I made an appeal for unity. I would repeat that appeal today. It is my earnest hope that the explanations I have given will have contributed materially to the removal of misunderstandings. Even if on certain points I have not, to my knowledge, been able to give assurances so comprehensive as those which would I know have been welcomed in certain political quarters in India, I would urge insistently that this is not a moment at which to risk the splitting of the unity of India on the rock of particular phrases, and I would press that we should continue to aim at the unity of India even if differences of greater or less significance continue to exist. We live in difficult and anxious days. Great ideals are in issue. Dangers real and imminent face our civilization. Those dangers are as real and as imminent in the case of India as of any other member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Those ideals are as precious to India as to any country in the Empire or in the world. At this grave moment in the destinies of nations, my prayer to all parties would be not to dissociate themselves from the common effort, but to lend their co-operation and their assistance in the prosecution of the war. There could be no more decisive proof of India's fidelity to her best traditions than the full use of the opportunities afforded to her by the war for concerted endeavour. The ideals we have set before us, the objects to secure which we are engaged in the present struggle,

are such as to command widespread sympathy and widespread support in India. They are in harmony with her past history and her highest traditions. It is my hope that in the grave juncture which we face India will go forward as a united country in support of a common cause."

4. DISCUSSION WITH FIFTY LEADERS

Statement issued on November 5, 1939 :— **Nov. 5, 1939**

"The discussions which have been taking place between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League have not ended in agreement. No one can regret more than I do that this should be the case, and I think it is only proper, as the issues involved are so important, to recall the history of the last few weeks.

War was declared on the 3rd September. In a broadcast that night I appealed to all parties and all sections in India to co-operate in its prosecution. On the following day I saw Mr. Gandhi in Simla, and I discussed the whole position freely with him. I similarly took immediate steps to see Mr. Jinnah as representing the Muslim League. Nor did I fail to see the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

Thereafter the general question came for consideration before the Congress Working Committee and the Working Committee of the Muslim League. The Working Committee of the Congress met on the 15th of September. They condemned Nazi aggression in decisive terms. But they postponed a final decision so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake, the real objectives aimed at, and the position of India in the present and in the future, and they invited the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what were their war aims and how those aims would apply to India, and be given effect to in the present. Mr. Gandhi, expressing his full agreement with the Working Committee's statement, remarked that he had been sorry to find himself alone in seeking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League on the 18th of September similarly asked, 'if full, effective, and honourable co-operation of the Mussalmans is desired', that 'a sense of security and satisfaction' should be created amongst Muslims, and referred in particular to the position of the Muslims in Congress Provinces, and to the necessity for consulting the Muslims fully regarding any change in the existing constitution and securing their consent and approval.

I now again got in touch with Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. I decided that, given the great divergence of view which clearly existed between the two major political parties in British India, I must satisfy myself as to the trend of feeling in the country. In pursuance of that object I interviewed over 50 people, representing all parties, communities, and interests. While those conversations were proceeding, the All-India Congress Committee, on the 10th of October, passed a resolution repeating the demand of the Working Committee for a statement by His Majesty's Government

of their war aims and peace aims. They demanded also that India should be declared an independent nation and that present application of this status should be given to the largest possible extent.

I reported my conversations in detail to His Majesty's Government, who at a time of overwhelming pressure have been devoting the closest attention to the problems of India. It was in the light of profound consideration and long discussion that on the 18th October I made a Declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That Declaration emphasized first that Dominion Status remained the goal for India ; second, that His Majesty's Government were prepared to reconsider the scheme of the present Act at the end of the war in consultation with leaders of opinion in India ; third, that His Majesty's Government attached importance to associating public opinion in India with the prosecution of the war, and that for that purpose they contemplated the formation of a Consultative Group, the details of which were to be settled after I had further consulted with Party leaders.

The announcements in my statement are of great importance. Their importance has been belittled, but they represent points of real substance. The debates in Parliament which followed the publication of my statement brought out another important point —the readiness of His Majesty's Government, if certain conditions were secured, to associate Indian opinion in a still closer and more responsible manner with the conduct of the war by a temporary expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council. But the reception in British India both of my Declaration and of the subsequent debates in Parliament was, so far as the Congress was concerned, definitely hostile. The Congress Working Committee on the 22nd of October passed a resolution to the effect that my Declaration was entirely unsatisfactory, and called upon the Congress Ministries in the Provinces to resign. The Muslim League on the same day asked that certain doubts should be removed, and complete clarification of the Declaration secured, subject to which they empowered their President, if fully satisfied, 'to give an assurance of co-operation and support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war.'

I next invited Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and Mr. Jinnah to come to see me on November 1st, and I discussed the whole position with them frankly. I had already in my previous conversations discussed with them, as with almost all my visitors, from various aspects the possibility of an expansion of the Governor-General's Council. I now told them that if in regard to association at the Centre, we had been unable to go further than the Consultative Group it was because of the lack of prior agreement between the major communities such as would contribute to harmonious working in the Centre. I added that the manifestoes issued on 22nd October by the Congress Working Committee and the Muslim League had shown only too clearly the gulf that existed between the attitudes of these two great parties.

I begged my visitors in these circumstances to meet and to have discussions among themselves on the provincial position, with a view thereafter to putting forward in agreement proposals which could be considered for some expansion of the Governor-General's Council at the Centre. I told them that I saw no necessity for every detail of the differences between them in the Provinces to be resolved. What was needed was a sufficient resolution of those differences to make the devising of a scheme for harmonious co-operation at the Centre practicable. I begged them in the most earnest manner to spare no endeavour to reach agreement; and I emphasized that this was essentially a question affecting Indians on which agreement between Indians themselves was what I was anxious to secure. I repeated the profound anxiety not only of myself but of His Majesty's Government to leave nothing undone which would contribute to achieve that agreement.

The discussions which I suggested have taken place. But the result to me has been a profound disappointment. There remains today entire disagreement between the representatives of the major parties on fundamental issues. All I will say now is that I am not prepared to accept this failure. I propose in due course to try again, in consultation with the leaders of these great parties and the Princes, to see if even now there may still be the possibility of securing unity. During all the time I have been in India there is nothing I have been more anxious to secure than unity. And unity matters far more to India than is perhaps always realised. Unity, too, means that Indians, whatever their community or whatever their party allegiance, and whether they dwell in British India or in the Indian States, must work together in a common scheme. It is worth a great deal to try to bring that about. I may have been unsuccessful so far. But I will try again. And when I try again I would ask India to remember my difficulties, and give me credit for an earnest goodwill and an earnest desire to assist. We are dealing with a problem that has defeated the united endeavours of the greatest organizations in this country. There are grave differences of view which have to be taken into account, which should be bridged. There are strong and deeply-rooted interests which are entitled to the fullest consideration and whose attitude is not a thing lightly to be brushed aside. There are minorities which are great in numbers as well as great in historic importance and in culture. Those, are all factors to which full weight has to be given. But complex as the problems are, I refuse to regard them as insoluble, and I prefer to believe that, like other human problems, they will yield to patient discussion in a spirit of goodwill. In this belief I am encouraged by the friendly feeling which has pervaded my discussions with the leaders of parties. I would ask the country, and I would ask the leaders of the great political parties and their constituents, who I know have faith in those leaders, and are ably led by them, to give me the help which I so much need if there is to be any hope of overcoming our difficulties and reaching the result which I am sure that we all of us desire."

(The correspondence with party leaders will be found in Part IV).

5. "LIFE IS A BRIDGE"

Nov. 5, 1939

With profound regret Lord Linlithgow announced in his broadcast of Nov. 5, 1939, *that the differences and difficulties which threatened " to retard, even to reverse, the course of constitutional development in India and the earliest attainment of the common goal," had not been resolved as a result of the conversations inaugurated at his instance between leaders of the Congress Party and the Muslim League. But he was not prepared to accept this failure and proposed to try again to see if even now there was the possibility of securing unity. Text of the message :*

" It is with profound regret that I have to announce that the conversations which at my instance had been inaugurated between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League have so far not achieved what I had hoped. The country is entitled to know in a matter of such moment and at a time of such gravity what the nature was of the proposition which I invited my friends in those two organizations to consider. I shall tomorrow publish correspondence which will make the position perfectly clear. Let me only say that my object has been in these discussions to bring together the leaders of the great parties and to endeavour to secure, as a result of personal contact between them and with what personal assistance I could myself give, that measure of agreement in the Provinces which in their view would enable them to put forward proposals for constructive advance at the Centre for the period of the war such as would be represented by some expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and by the inclusion in it of political leaders.

My Declaration of 18th October contemplated a consultative group. It offered an arrangement relatively so limited as that group only because of the marked divergences of view between the great communities, divergences the existence of which held out no hope of harmonious working at the Centre on the basis of joint membership of my Executive Council at a time when harmonious working was of the first importance. Nevertheless, I am persuaded that that group holds great possibilities for the future ; possibilities, I feel sure, greater than are commonly realised.

It is, I need not say, a profound disappointment to me after so much endeavour on the part of His Majesty's Government, on the part of those leaders with whom I have conferred, and of their friends, as well as on my own part, that we have no more to show, and that in so many Provinces we should be left with no choice but to use the emergency provisions inserted for that purpose in the Government of India Act. As for those provisions let me emphasize, that they are an expedient, not a sanction. My own strong feeling in regard to their use I cannot better convey than by a paraphrase of the quotation that appears in Arabic characters upon the great Gateway at Fatehpur Sikri. That quotation says :

' Life is a bridge, a bridge that you shall pass over ;
You shall not build your house upon it.'

Nor in the wider field do I propose to take this disappointment as final, or to abandon the efforts I am making to bring about the friendly adjustment of differences in this country to the end that we can continue to co-operate over the achievement of our common objectives. Differences and difficulties such as those which now threaten to retard—even to reverse—the course of constitutional development in India and the earliest attainment of the common goal, will not disappear spontaneously, nor will they be conjured away by any refusal to recognise their existence. They will be resolved only by negotiations carried out in a spirit of mutual accommodation and trust and with a firm resolve to succeed.

I will say no more than that tonight. But I would ask for patience and for the goodwill of the Indian people, and of the great political organizations, whether of the members of those organizations or their leaders, in the efforts I propose to continue to make. The difficulties are great. How great they are has been most clearly revealed by the events of the last six weeks. But the attempt to reconcile them is one which it is imperative to make and in which, whether I fail or I succeed, I shall spare no effort to bring about the result which is I know at the heart of all of those who care for India and for her future."

6. "EVERYBODY'S KING"

" During the reign of His late Majesty, that most ancient of our institutions the Throne, gaining immeasurably in power and prestige, was proved as never before to be not only the head and heart of a great democratic constitution but also the keystone of the living arch of the Empire."—Lord Linlithgow in unveiling a statue of His late Majesty King George V in New Delhi on November 14, 1939. Text of the speech :— **Nov. 14, 1939**

" We have assembled today to honour the memory of a man who was our King and Emperor for twenty-five years. That quarter of a century was not only a generation in our lives, it was an era crowded with great events, and great issues, with great suffering and great joy, with perils and with the triumph of perils overcome.

During the reign of His late Majesty, that most ancient of our institutions the Throne, gaining immeasurably in power and prestige, was proved as never before to be not only the head and heart of a great democratic constitution but also the keystone of the living arch of the Empire.

During his reign that Empire passed through its constitutional adolescence, and India advanced by two great stages towards her destined goal of full and equal partnership with the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

But the great office which His late Imperial Majesty filled was more than a constitutional symbol, and more than an abstract expression of the unity of the Empire. It was to a Throne enriched

by the personality of a good and wise man that all people instinctively turned in time of danger and of rejoicing, as to the human and visible focus of their emotions.

To a high conception of private duty and public service, King George V added the virtues of patience and impartiality, of industry and of courage, of the wisdom which is born of ripe experience and sound commonsense. Such a combination of qualities, precious enough in any man, were of incomparable value in a King. His personal knowledge of and interest in all the peoples of his Empire were unrivalled, and his people, in their turn, were drawn to him by this conscious bond of sympathy, and by the recognition in him of homely tastes and standards which they could share.

The King was everybody's King.

More particularly can we who are gathered here be sensible of this personal relationship with the Sovereign, who, 28 years ago announced his decision to restore Delhi to its ancient birthright and who laid the first stones of his Imperial Capital.

The Memorial which I am about to unveil represents the tribute paid to a beloved Sovereign by his people in India. To its construction rich and poor, princes and peasants alike, contributed according to their means. Its dignity and beauty worthily enshrine their homage and their love. It is in the fitness of things, too, that this Memorial to His late Majesty King George V should stand near that other Memorial raised to the glory of brave men, who in a spirit of service and unwavering devotion which matched his own, answered his call and gave their lives for their country. Beyond that Archway, our late King-Emperor's Statue will look for ever towards the columns and the domes of the Capital which is so peculiarly his own, with the founding of which he associated his hopes for the unity, prosperity, and happiness of the people of his Indian Empire.

Once in his lifetime and in ours the foundations of the civilised world were shaken. In the task of rebuilding and strengthening those foundations his share was not a small one. Now that the test has come again, it is heartening to recall the exhortation which the King-Emperor who led us to victory through the dark days of the last Great War, addressed to his people a few days before he died:

'United by the bonds of willing service,' he said, 'let us prove ourselves both strong to endure, and resolute to overcome.' And, with God's help, so we will."

7. WORLD INTEREST IN INDIAN STATES

"In these days, an ever-increasing interest is being taken by the world at large in the affairs of Indian States", says Lord Linlithgow in a speech at a banquet given at Rewa in his honour on December 12, 1939. "I am confident that Your Highness is well aware how important it is, in these circumstances, that Rulers should not only devote themselves to the redress of any legitimate grievances that may be brought to their notice but should be ready to prove that any undeserved criticisms are not founded on facts." Extracts: **Dec. 12, 1939**

"There is no need for me to add to what Your Highness has said on that subject which, in these days, touches us all so closely —the war. If I may say so, Your Highness has admirably expressed that sense of confidence in the outcome of this tragic conflict, in words which will find an echo in the hearts of all loyal men. Our cause is just and it will prevail.

It is heartening to remember at such a time the traditional loyalty of the Princely Houses of India, and more particularly the splendid traditions of the Rewa House.

Your Highness' forbears have proved themselves again and again to be staunch allies and trusted friends, in illustration of which it is fitting to recall how in 1914 Your Highness' father sent a memorable telegram to enquire what were the orders of the King-Emperor for himself and for his army.

These traditions are being worthily upheld by Your Highness today.

I have been much gratified to learn of the satisfactory progress recently made in the training of the Rewa State Forces and in particular of the high standard of efficiency reached by the Rewa Transport Corps, which is now ready for mobilization. For this state of affairs Your Highness, ably assisted by your Chief of the State General Staff, is responsible, and I know from what I have seen that the loyal assurances which we have heard tonight are ready to be translated into vigorous and effective action as soon as the necessity may arise.

Your Highness was kind enough to refer in appreciative terms to what I have endeavoured to do for the development of improved methods of agriculture and stock-breeding in this country. My interest in these matters is indeed profound, and I am aware that, although there are in Rewa very considerable industrial resources, both developed and undeveloped, it is agriculture which has always been and must always be the mainstay of this State.

I am therefore confident that Your Highness and your advisers will always be prepared, so far as local resources may permit, to afford to the agriculturists of the State opportunities to benefit by the new methods and schemes which have been evolved by the Central organization set up for this purpose.

But, for the agriculturist improved methods of production are not the whole story. No less important is the existence of adequate

means of communication and transport for the conveyance of his produce to the most profitable markets, and I listened with close attention to what Your Highness had to say on this subject. In a State of the size of Rewa, with its 13,000 square miles of territory, which is still, as Your Highness has pointed out, ill-served by railways, the development of roads is a matter of vital importance, and I congratulate Your Highness for the keen interest which you have consistently taken in this problem and for the very large measure of success which has already attended your efforts.

I am very glad to hear that the Central Road Fund was able to assist these efforts materially and that the money which was available from that source has been spent to the best possible advantage.

I trust that Your Highness' ambition to see a new railway built through this State may not be too long delayed.

There are undoubtedly difficulties to be overcome, and Your Highness has mentioned one of the greatest of these—the present exigencies of the war. But I fully realise the importance of this matter, and I am interested to learn from Your Highness that a project is actually under consideration and that some surveys have been carried out. I will gladly repeat the assurance which was given to Your Highness by my predecessor, Lord Willingdon, that any project of this nature which may be presented to my Government in a final form will be most carefully and sympathetically considered.

Lady Linlithgow has asked me to thank Your Highness for the very kind references you have made to her and to her work in India.

We are delighted to learn that, as a result of the Anti-Tuberculosis Appeal, a sum of over Rs. 29,000 is now available for fighting this scourge in Rewa.

The question of how this sum can best be utilised is, I know, under the immediate consideration of Your Highness, and my wife and I will be interested to learn in due course the form which Your Highness' decision will take. We sincerely hope that it will be to the lasting benefit of the people of Rewa.

Before I conclude, I should like to take this opportunity of complimenting Your Highness, if I may, on the energy and ability which you have applied to the administration of your State. In these days, an ever-increasing interest is being taken by the world at large in the affairs of Indian States. I am confident that Your Highness is well aware how important it is, in these circumstances, that Rulers should not only devote themselves to the redress of any legitimate grievances that may be brought to their notice, but should be ready to prove that any undeserved criticisms are not founded on facts."

8. THE LATE LORD BRABOURNE

Speech at the dedication of the tablet to the memory of the late Lord Brabourne on December 24, 1939 : **Dec. 24, 1939**

" Most Reverend Father in God,—Before asking you to dedicate this tablet to Lord Brabourne's memory I would wish briefly to recall the record of his service to his country, and the qualities that so greatly endeared him to all who knew him and that made his early death so acute a loss to his friends.

Educated at Wellington and at the Royal Military Academy, Lord Brabourne served with great distinction in the European war, in the course of which he was thrice mentioned in despatches, in addition to receiving the Military Cross.

Elected in 1931 to the House of Commons, his high quality and his great promise drew attention to him from the first. He served with Sir Samuel Hoare, then Secretary of State for India, during a period of the first importance in the shaping of the future constitution of India. In 1933 he was selected for the high office of Governor of Bombay, and the work he did as Governor of that great Presidency until he resigned his Governorship in 1937 on becoming Governor of Bengal, fully vindicated the wisdom of the choice. In Bengal, though he had served there for little more than a year at the time of his premature death, he had already confirmed, and if possible enhanced, the distinguished reputation he had early established.

So much for the record of his public work ; a record sufficiently striking in the case of a man of 43 ; a record which clearly shows that there is no distinction and no eminence in the service of the Crown to which he might not have hoped to rise. But no picture of Lord Brabourne would be a complete one if it did not touch on his personal qualities. He united, in a peculiar and unusual degree, great capacity for work, a marked quickness of apprehension, wide sympathy and an outstanding personal charm. His readiness to spare no effort in any good cause, his anxiety at all times to give to his country and to his friends the best that was in him, are known to all of us who had the honour and the privilege of working with him. Those qualities, combined with a solidity and a balance of judgment, rare at any time, noteworthy in particular in a man still so young, held forth the greatest hope for future years. Whether on public or on personal grounds, his loss is one that cannot be replaced to his country or his friends. His record, and his work remain an encouragement and an inspiration to us all.

Most Reverend Father in God, on behalf of his relatives and the people of this Province, of which he was the much loved Governor, I request that you will graciously dedicate this tablet to the memory of the late Michael Herbert Rudolph Knatchbull, Baron Brabourne."

9. OBLIGATIONS OF THE NOBILITY

Jan. 4, 1940 *Lord Linlithgow commends to the Rajkumar College (college for the boys of ruling families of Indian States) the Sanskrit motto: "The King has honour in his own kingdom, but the wise man has honour everywhere." Extract from speech at the prize giving ceremony of the college on January* 4, 1940 :

" I was particularly struck with that part of the speech of the President of your General Council, the Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh, in which he explained that there had been a tendency in recent years to abandon the old idea that a highly exclusive school is necessarily the best for boys who belong to Rulers' families. The question of the best kind of education is probably one of the oldest subjects of debate among schoolmasters and philosophers. It can, perhaps, never be finally answered—and fortunately so, for it is a matter which we should constantly be turning over in our minds and approaching from fresh angles. In any case I do not intend to produce any ready-made answer of my own today, but this much I should like to say, that I most cordially agree with those of the Governing Body and the Ruling Chiefs who believe that the change which has opened the gates of the College to boys of other than Raj families cannot fail to be one of immense and mutual benefit to all who are educated here.

One of the obligations of nobility, whether of class or character, is leadership, which in India as anywhere else in the world is not worth the name, and may even be a positive danger, if it is not inspired by sympathy, tolerance and understanding ; and these virtues are not plants which can be raised in the shelter of a green-house, but in the open fields. Your College has a Sanskrit motto which might be translated thus: "The King has honour in his own kingdom, but the wise man has honour everywhere." That is a good motto and an appropriate one, and as applied to this College and to the boys who are trained here for the outside world its meaning, I should think, is clear. A wise ruler will aim at earning respect beyond the boundaries of his State, and a young man who wishes to make his mark in the world, whether as a good ruler or as a good citizen, will be fitted for it by training in a College such as yours is planned to be, which eschews exclusiveness and concentrates on broadening the mind and enriching the character.

I listened with close attention to what you too, Mr. Principal, had to say on the subject of first-class schools for first-class boys, and I think we can all accept without hesitation your definition of what such a school should be. I am extremely glad to hear that the conditions which you described are those which the Governing Body and Staff of the Rajkumar College have set before them to attain. Your definition and the objects of which you spoke might equally be those of any great British Public School, and I for my part am happy to know that the Rajkumar College is not the only college in India which has embarked on a process of conversion

to a Public School model. No matter what criticism may be levelled against the Public School system, there is no doubt whatever that the Public Schools of Great Britain have been at least as successful as any other educational system in the world in producing the qualities of leadership and initiative, a sense of responsibility and of public duty, all qualities which are to be found, and must be developed too, among those who are to lead India forward to her rightful place among the free and self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

A great many prizes have been distributed today. Those who have received them have their recognition and their encouragement to do still better, and to those who have not been awarded prizes I have this to say. Do not be disappointed, but do your best always and another time you will succeed. And remember that you will be lucky, I may say unique, if after you have left school you find that your good work, even your best work, invariably wins a prize. Your reward, as you will come to understand if you do not understand it now, lies in your endeavour and in your work itself.

We are living in troubled times. None can see far into the future, or can pretend to guess what new order, social, political or economic, may emerge for the world in the next few years. At such a time individuals, communities, nations, and all mankind are in desperate need of the virtues of courage, self-confidence, mutual trust and understanding, which alone can lead the peoples of the world to build again what has been shattered, and bind themselves together more strongly in a spirit of unity, brotherhood and goodwill. These virtues, I believe, the Rajkumar College is doing its best to instil and to evoke, and India will have cause to be grateful to it and to all likeminded institutions."

10. CONTENTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Speech at a dinner given by His Excellency Sir Francis Wylie at Government House, Nagpur, on January 5, 1940. Extract: **Jan. 5, 1940**

"I do not propose to make a speech tonight: nor I am sure, do you expect me to do so. But I would like to thank you sincerely for your very kind references to the work which at one time or other it has been my privilege to do, or to try to do, on behalf of India—references which I deeply value. Let me say, too, how great an encouragement, and how great a satisfaction, it was to me to hear from you tonight that the servants of the Crown in the Central Provinces and Berar are satisfied as to the closeness of my concern for the safeguarding at all times of their legitimate interests. None of us on whom the burden of administration has fallen will ever under-estimate the importance to good government of the contentment, and the confidence, of those public services on whose efficiency and whose experience, so much must in the last resort at all times depend.

I thank you most warmly, too, on my wife's behalf for the reference you have made to her appeal for aid in combating the scourge of tuberculosis. Nothing has been closer to her heart during all the time that she has been in India than the alleviation of the misery and the distress inseparable from its ravages. She is happy indeed to think that the response to her appeal should have been so generous and so spontaneous, and that there should be so good a prospect in the result of a contribution of real value to the prevention and the treatment of tuberculosis in India."

11. THE WAR AND INDIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS

Jan. 6, 1940

Keen regret that the outbreak of war should have resulted in even the temporary interruption of the harmonious working of provincial autonomy and of the orderly progress of India as a whole to the goal of Dominion Status was expressed by Lord Linlithgow replying to Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy's speech at a dinner party given by the latter in honour of His Excellency at Nagpur on January 6, 1940. His Excellency also indicated briefly the nature of the difficulties which beset the path of constitutional progress in India. Extracts :

"I had always hoped that I should be so fortunate as to visit the Central Provinces at a time when general pressure was less acute, and when conditions alike in the local political and in the international sphere were happier, and likely to give me more opportunity of visiting the outlying parts of this province and of seeing with my own eyes the various directions in which it is moving forward; of examining the agricultural problem on the spot; and, if possible, of paying a visit to some of those industrial enterprises to which you have referred. Fate has ordained otherwise, and my visit has fallen at a time when, as you have rightly reminded us, not only in the local political sphere, but in the sphere of international affairs we are confronted by grave problems calling for the closest attention and for the anxious consideration of all of us on whom any burden of responsibility for the handling of the affairs of India and of every part of India rests today.

You have alluded, Sir Maneckji, in feeling terms to the war situation. It is only too present to all of us. It is indeed a situation which can never for a moment be out of our thoughts, and the existence of which must for the time being dominate all others. It is a situation which, as I recently remarked elsewhere, is of profound and lasting importance to India.

India cannot but be concerned in the most vital degree, whether in the material or in the political sphere, in the success of the Allies. The realisation of the ideals and of the aims which the Allies have set before themselves in entering into this war, and in its prosecution, are equally of profound significance and concern to a country which, whatever internal political differences there may for the moment be, has never hesitated to make clear in the most unmistakable manner the whole-heartedness of its support for the objectives which

animate the Empire and the Allies in the struggle in which we are now engaged. Nothing could be more encouraging to me than to feel that there is so little difference of opinion—indeed I should have said so marked a unanimity of opinion—in India as to the justice of our cause, and as to the compelling nature of the motives which have actuated us in entering the war.

It is with all the greater satisfaction in those circumstances that I am able to pay a tribute tonight not only to the material assistance which the Central Provinces and Berar have in one way or another so readily lent to India's war effort ; but to the assurance you have given me, speaking as one of the most respected and most eminent citizens of this province, of the readiness of all concerned to spare no effort to play their part and to lend the utmost aid in their power to the realisation of the aims which we have set before us.

You have reminded us in the speech which you have just made that difficulties confront us today, difficulties not merely in the international, but also in the internal Indian sphere. I am only too conscious of that fact. I could wish that things had been otherwise, fully as I accept the sincerity of the approach to this question of participation in the war of those who have felt doubts, doubts which it has not so far been wholly possible to resolve, as to the position of His Majesty's Government.

You have truly remarked that it has been to me a profound disappointment that the outbreak of the war at the juncture at which it happened should have resulted in even the temporary interruption of the harmonious working of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy, and that, too, it should have been responsible for the interruption of the orderly progress of India as a whole through the stages indicated in the Government of India Act of 1935, to that goal of Dominion Status, which it has always been the wish of His Majesty's Government that she should achieve at the earliest possible date and which it is today still their wish to see attained at the earliest possible moment that circumstances render practicable.

We find ourselves as I speak to you tonight faced with a situation marked by many anomalies. India is whole-hearted in her support for the ideals for which His Majesty's Government are fighting the war. She is making a great contribution whether in men or in materials, to the prosecution of the war. She is ready and anxious to make a contribution greater still—indeed not the least of the problems which have presented themselves to me since the outbreak of the war has been the difficulty, given the turn which the war has taken, of making the fullest use of offers so generous as those which I have received from every province and every State in India.

Yet internally we have had to face in so many provinces, including this province in which I speak tonight, the temporary employment of the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935, and a reversion, as you have indicated, to a form of government resembling far more closely in very many ways that which operated before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms than can be regarded with

equanimity by any of us who are anxious to promote the political development of India and the achievement of her full status in the Empire.

Speaking recently I ventured to remark that there were times when silence was better than speech so far as constitutional development was concerned: and while I am aware that that view has in certain quarters been criticized, nothing has happened in the last three weeks to lead me materially to alter it, or to feel that much more may not stand to be lost than to be gained by an over-emphasis in public on the difficulties that may lie before us, real as they are, or by too much discussion on the public platform of those difficulties and of the means by which they can best be solved. The difficulties themselves are only too present to all of us.

The complexity of the factors that have to be reconciled; the importance of the communities, the parties and the interests concerned; the necessity for applying a balanced view to a situation of such intricacy; the careful planning and the foresight called for in devising solutions of problems the roots of which lie so deep and the consequences of the answer to which carry us so far into the future, need no emphasis from me. The more strictly political side apart, the communal problem to which you have referred in impressive words, and the importance of which I accept as fully as I deplore its existence, is not the least of those matters.

In circumstances such as these, I would only repeat my own anxiety to co-operate in every possible way in findng a solution, and my confidence that, given its vital necessity to the prosperity, the progress, and the contentment of India, a solution must be found, and a solution consistent with the unity of India, a solution which will bring together not only the great communities inside British India, but the Indian States with the marked, if different, contribution which they are in a position to make, and which it is so necessary that they should make, to an Indian Dominion.

I know, too,—as you are aware I have spared no pains to familiarize myself with the outlook and with the point of view of representatives of all communities and parties, and of the Indian States—how many conflicting elements remain to be harmonized.

But I cannot feel that it should be beyond our capacity, however great the difficulties, to bring about their harmonization, even if the process of harmonizing is less rapid than we could have wished. Had we but been able to pursue the course devised over so many years with the assistance of the representatives of India, I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that we should by now be within reach of the goal. That has not been possible, and we must make the best of the situation as we find it, though in dealing with that situation we can be thankful that over a period of years provincial autonomy has given an opportunity to Indian political leaders of handling great problems, of exercising real power, and of enhancing that political experience the importance of which is so immense in relation to the ultimate constitutional position of this country.

I will say no more tonight than this—that differences exist as we all know too well: but that we should do better, as I have ventured to urge in a different connection before, to concentrate on points of agreement rather than on points of difference: that we should be wise to think at all times of India as a single whole, and to have in our minds the desire to do what in our power lies to hold her together, and to see her progress on the path of political and constitutional development. In the efforts which I made to help her in that direction I have had great assistance from the most eminent political leaders in this country. I hope and I am confident that I shall continue to receive that assistance. I would only urge the importance—if I may without giving rise to misunderstanding say so—of avoiding in these delicate political matters too unbending a rigidity: of keeping an open mind, of a readiness to compromise; of that courage and that sense of responsibility to one's country and for its future, that readiness to make adjustment with opposing interests, whether the degree of that opposition be great or small, which are the true test and the true sign of the deeper political wisdom.

The sinking of differences, the preparation of those conditions and circumstances which bring about the establishment of Dominion Status, is, as you, Sir Maneckjee, have remarked tonight, the course of wisdom in present circumstances, and any help that I am capable of affording to achieve that ideal will be forthcoming in the greatest measure practicable.

Let me turn from the political field to another matter vitally affecting the life and the happiness of the inhabitants of this country on which you have touched tonight. I refer to the appeal for funds and for an organization to deal with the problem of tuberculosis. No words can overestimate the significance of that problem in its relation to the daily life, the happiness, the contentment, the physical well-being, of millions of human beings, men, women, and children, throughout India.

Lady Linlithgow has asked me to say how deeply she appreciates the generous reference which you have made in your speech to her own work in this connection. She has asked me to say, too, how greatly she has valued the ready response to her appeal in the Central Provinces and Berar—and as you know, 95 per cent. of all sums raised locally are applied for tuberculosis work in the province itself —and the interest which has so clearly shown itself in many parts of the province in the prevention and the treatment of a disease which represents so great a scourge."

12. A NEW HIGH COURT

Jan. 6, 1940

"Justice administered without fear or favour is a true index of the freedom of the land in which it flourishes. It is the foundation on which freedom builds and where it is lacking, material prosperity, disciplined patriotism or military might are facades of lath and plaster, worth nothing at all," declared Lord Linlithgow in opening the Nagpur High Court buildings on January 6, 1940. *"Of this we can today recognise only too clearly the tragic proof in those parts of the world whence justice, as we know it, has been driven forth." Proceeding :*

"Here in Nagpur, however, a new and worthy House of Justice has been built, and here the laws of India, ancient but vital institutions, will find new space for living and growing, through interpretation by your judges, and the precedents established in your courts.

I listened with much interest to your account, Sir, of the history of judicial administration in this Province. It is over three quarters of a century since the first Judicial Commissioner was appointed, but for the greater part of that period, during which there were developments of the utmost importance in the legislative and executive machinery of the administration, and in the territorial and commercial expansion of the Province, the judicial administration made little advance. The Letters Patent of four years ago were conferred in response to a very intelligible demand for an independent judiciary. A chartered High Court is symbolical of the King's Majesty as the fount of justice, and it is easy to sympathise with a public opinion that demanded this valuable safeguard.

You have described the building, Sir, as a poem in stone. If its beauty has as great a functional value as it is satisfying to the eye—and your description leads me to believe that it has—it is indeed a work of art, and the architect, the builders and craftsmen, and the material itself, of which so great a part comes from your own Province, should have our most sincere congratulations.

It is perhaps in keeping with that tradition in Eastern art which holds that the work of man should not presume to rival the perfection of God's handiwork, and therefore should be incomplete in some detail, that the building as we see it now should be without its dome. The feature has been delayed, I understand, for the very sensible reason that in its original design it was too heavy for the supporting pillars. Let justice be done though the heavens fall, as you, Sir, have reminded me but if the dome were to have fallen while you were engaged upon your business, I doubt if the most imperturbable judge, lawyer or litigant among you, could have quoted, as calmly as a headmaster of my old school, when a map of the world collapsed about his head :

Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinæ."

13. THE ORIENT CLUB SPEECH

A declaration that the British Government's objective for India had been made clear as full Dominion Status of "the Statute of Westminster variety," an assurance that their concern was to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing constitution and Dominion Status, and a fervent appeal to the "leaders of the great political parties of India" to help to end as early as possible the present state of affairs, were made by Lord Linlithgow in a speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, on January 10, 1940. Text: **Jan 10, 1940**

"The first thing, and the thing that must be the most prominent in the minds of everyone of us, is the outbreak of war, with all its consequences for good and for evil of every kind.

So far as India is concerned, there has indeed been a noble response.

I have been inundated with offers of men, of money, of material assistance of every kind; and the fullest advantage practicable in the circumstances in which this war is being fought has been taken of those very generous offers. It has been a great happiness to me to know how widely and how fully they have been appreciated at home and throughout the Empire, and I am glad to think that the magnitude of our war effort should be so fully recognized.

We have, I suspect, a long way to go yet. We may have to face many very difficult and awkward situations. It may well be that the real test still lies ahead of us. But we may be thankful that all the preparatory work done in our own restricted field in India has proved to have been on the right foundations: and every day that passes makes the position of the Allies stronger, as it makes, I believe, that of the enemy weaker. Every day, too, makes clearer to the world the inevitability of the decision which we took at the beginning of September, and the vital necessity of our attaining our objectives, and of our protecting and securing the position of those high ideals for which we are fighting today.

When I had the pleasure of meeting you a year ago, I spoke of the working of Provincial Autonomy, and the success which the scheme of provincial autonomy under the Act of 1935 had achieved in this great Presidency. I said, too, that Provincial Autonomy was only one part of the scheme.

I emphasized the importance of bringing into effect without any delay the scheme of Federation which was the coping stone of the constitutional structure embodied in the Act. I said that it was all the more important that we should secure Federation with as little delay as practicable because of the deterioration in the international situation, and I urged that we should press on with it with all the energy in our power, since, whatever its shortcomings, the federal scheme was the scheme that held out the best hope of swift constitutional progress and of the unity of India.

We meet today in very different circumstances.

To my deep regret there has been in this province a temporary interruption in the normal working of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy. We have no longer in power Ministers backed by a majority in the legislature; and the administration is perforce being carried on under the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935. No one regrets, I am sure, more than you do yourselves that this should be the case, or that at a time when the burdens and the responsibilities to be carried on behalf of the public are greater than they have ever been, Ministers should not be in power to assist in carrying those burdens. We can but trust that this interruption will be temporary and that the re-establishment of the normal working of the constitution in the provincial sphere will before long be practicable.

But in the provincial field we have at any rate been able to bring into being, and to test by practical application, those portions of the Act of 1935 which devolve great powers and responsibilities on elected Ministers. We had not reached that point in the Centre when the war broke out, though our preparations were being pushed on with all possible energy.

At the beginning of the war, which we had every reason to believe would develop on lines which would make it immediately necessary to concentrate every atom of our energy on the prosecution of the war to the exclusion of all other matters, the course of wisdom, much as all of us might regret it, was clearly for the time being to suspend the preparations afoot for the establishment of the Federation of India.

I deeply regret myself that that should have been necessary, since whatever criticisms on one ground or another have been levelled against the scheme of federation in the Act, could it but have been brought into operation, it would have provided us with the solution of almost all the problems that confront us today—the presence of Ministers at the Centre; the association of the Indian States—a point of such vital importance to British India—in a common government; the representation of all minorities on the lines elaborated after a full consideration of the claims and proposals of the minorities themselves; and the unity of India.

You know only too well how things have gone since September. I do not propose to dilate on that today.

As you know, in response to requests for a clarification of the aims of His Majesty's Government and of their intentions towards India, His Majesty's Government have made it clear, both through statements issued by myself, and in Parliament, that their objective for India is full Dominion Status, Dominion Status, too, of the Statute of Westminster variety; that, so far as the intermediate period is concerned (and it is their desire to make that intermediate period the shortest practicable), they are ready to consider the reopening of the scheme of the Act of 1935 so soon as practicable after the war with the aid of Indian opinion: that they are prepared in the meantime, subject to such local adjustments between the leaders of the great communities as may be necessary to ensure harmonious working,

and as an immediate earnest of their intention, to expand the Executive Council of the Governor-General by the inclusion of a small number of political leaders: and that they are ready and anxious to give all the help they can to overcome the difficulties that confront us and that confront India today.

But those assurances have not, to my profound regret, dissipated the doubts and the uncertainties which have led to the withdrawal from office of the Congress Ministries, and which have made it necessary in seven provinces to make use of the emergency provisions of the Act.

The pronouncements made on behalf of His Majesty's Government since the beginning of the war make clear, I think, beyond any question whatever, their intentions and their anxiety to help.

The federal scheme of the Act was itself designed as a stage on the road to Dominion Status: and under that scheme, devised, I would remind you, long before there was any question of a war, very wide and extensive powers were to be placed in the hands of a Central Government representing the Indian States as well as British India, and constituted on a very broad basis indeed.

There can be no question of the good faith and the sincerity of His Majesty's Government in the efforts they have made to deal with the constitutional future of India.

I well know that there are many people who press for swifter and more radical solutions of the problems before us.

I do not question the sincerity or the good intentions of those who feel that way.

But all those of us who have to deal with problems of this magnitude know only too well how often we are attracted by apparently simple solutions; how often those apparently simple solutions, when more closely investigated, reveal unexpected difficulties, and difficulties, too, of unexpected importance, anxious as we may all be to take what seems to be the shortest course.

Short cuts, as many of us know to our cost, are too often prone in experience to lead to a considerable waste of time. Nowhere I fear is that truer than of the political problems of India, for there are difficulties, and real difficulties, of which we are all aware, and which we all regret. But they will not be avoided or disposed of by ignoring their existence.

The wise course is to face up to those difficulties and to try to find a solution of them that will result in the subsequent co-operation of all the parties and interests concerned. We are, after all, dealing not with one political party only, but with many.

Nor must we forget the essential necessity, in the interests of Indian unity, of the inclusion of the Indian States in any constitutional scheme.

There are the insistent claims of the minorities.

I need refer only to two of them—the great Muslim minority and the Scheduled Castes—there are the guarantees that have been given to the minorities in the past; the fact that their position must be safeguarded, and that those guarantees must be honoured.

I know that you appreciate the difficulty of the position of the Viceroy and the difficulty of the position of His Majesty's Government, faced as they are with strong and conflicting claims advanced by bodies and interests to whose views the utmost attention must be paid, and whose position must receive the fullest consideration. Justice must be done as between the various parties, and His Majesty's Government are determined to see justice done.

But I would ask my friends in the various parties to consider whether they cannot get together and reach some agreement between themselves which would facilitate my task, and the task of His Majesty's Government, in dealing with this vital question of Indian constitutional progress: and I would venture again to emphasize the case for compromise, the case for avoiding too rigid an approach to the problems such as those with which we are dealing today.

As to the objective there is no dispute. I am ready to consider any practical suggestion that has general support, and I am ready, when the time comes, to give every help that I personally can. His Majesty's Government are not blind—nor can we be blind here—to the practical difficulties involved in moving at one step from the existing constitutional position into that constitutional position which is represented by Dominion Status. But here again I can assure you that their concern and mine is to spare no effort to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the achievement of Dominion Status.

The offer is there. The responsibility that falls on the great political parties and their leaders is a heavy one, and one of which they are, I know, fully conscious. They have helped me in the past. I ask today that they will help me again and help India, and I ask for their co-operation and their assistance in terminating at as early a date as possible a state of things which all who have faith in the virtue of constitutional progress must deplore; a state of things which every lover of India—everyone who is concerned to advance her interests—must feel today to be a bitter disappointment."

14. ARTS EXHIBITION

an. 12, 940 *Speech at the opening of the Annual Exhibition of the Bombay Arts Society on January 12, 1940:*

"I thank you most heartily for your cordial welcome and I can assure you that I am very sensible of the special distinction of being the first Viceroy to have opened this Exhibition. I have several times seen fine reproductions of the exhibits shown here in recent years, and this made me all the more anxious to come and see the Bombay Arts Society's Exhibition for myself.

It is a well-established institution which last year celebrated its Golden Jubilee. What changes the world will have seen by the time this Exhibition has reached its Diamond Jubilee it would be rash to prophesy, but if history is any guide there is reason to hope that Indian Art will by then be rising to, will perhaps have reached, a new peak of excellence, greater than any previously attained in her long artistic tradition.

Art, as Sir Cowasji has told us, requires patronage and encouragement, and therefore an atmosphere of prosperity in which to flourish. To this I would add that a period of great art must also be a period of confidence, unity and ordered progress, when high hopes and great achievements quicken the imagination and lift up the spirit.

Art never thrives, though its seeds may continue to live, during a period of intellectual complacency or of political chaos, such as, those which followed the disintegration of the Roman Empire and the end of the Moghul Period. Greek Art of the Periclean Age and the Art of the Italian Renaissance rose out of a trough of conventionalism on the upsurging of a great wave of fresh ideas and new values, of bold and courageous experiment. India, in this first half of the twentieth century, stands, I believe, on the threshold of just such another period, and this is reflected not only in a revival of interest in art and artistic appreciation, but also in the new vigour and creative impulse which are apparent in Indian Art today.

Moreover, I am optimistic enough to believe that out of the struggle in which we are engaged today a new world will be born; a world of security, confidence, prosperity and co-operation; a world in which the arts of peace can flourish. Let us hope so, at any rate, for, paradox though it may seem, that is what we are fighting for."

15. INDIAN UNITY—H.M.G.'s AIM

The fact that His Majesty's Government had been obliged to suspend the preparations for initiating Federation in India did not mean any abatement of their desire to secure Indian unity, was emphasised by Lord Linlithgow speaking at a banquet in his honour at Baroda on Jan. 17, 1940. Nor could that unity be complete without the co-operation of the Indian States. Extracts : **Jan. 17 1940**

"The postponement of my visit to Baroda last year caused me great disappointment which was followed by profound sadness when I learnt last February of the demise of His late Highness. I realised fully how great must be the loss to Baroda State. Your Highness has rightly said that his life was dedicated to the service of his people, who loved and revered him, and his death has left a void that can never be filled.

I know that in your personal grief you must feel the loss irreparable, but with clear foresight His late Highness took pains to ensure that his successor should be well versed in the intricacies of administration and fully equipped to build on the foundations of wise and sympathetic rule which he had so firmly laid. It must therefore

have been a solace to him in his last days to know that in Your Highness he had a successor able immediately to take up the reins of Government. I am fully confident that with his life as an inspiration, Your Highness will, in the course of time, fill in the hearts of your subjects, that void to which you have referred.

In this anxious time of war it must give great comfort to His Majesty to receive such constant evidence of the devotion of the Princes of India. Your Highness' offer placing all the resources of your State at His Majesty's disposal was one of the first of its kind I had the pleasure of receiving and conveying to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and I know that when the need arises Baroda will not be found wanting in any respect.

I listened with much appreciation to Your Highness' remarks on the question of Federation, and I am glad to think that Your Highness shares the view of that sage and experienced statesman, His Highness the late Maharaja, as to the soundness of the line of constitutional advance represented by the federal section of the Act, and the importance and significance of the federal scheme in its relation to the unity of India—a consideration that has at all times been present to His Majesty's Government.

It was to me regrettable that the outbreak of war and the impossibility of judging on what lines the war was likely to proceed should have left us with no option but to suspend our federal preparations; but the fact that those preparations have been suspended does not for a moment mean that His Majesty's Government have in anyway modified their own view as to the necessity for securing Indian unity—a unity which can only be complete if, in the constitutional arrangements of the future, the historic Indian States, with their great and special traditions, take the place which we have always looked forward to seeing them occupy.

I have noted with satisfaction the constitutional and fiscal reforms to which His late Highness gave effect in recent years and which are being actively implemented by yourself. May every success attend Your Highness' efforts in this direction.

I congratulate Your Highness on the conditions of prosperity and happiness which obviously prevail in your State and I note that in effecting reductions in your Civil List Your Highness has set a personal example of that prudent economy which enables resources to be conserved for the provision of improvements in the State which the masses of your people may enjoy.

In addition to the improvements your Highness has mentioned, which are of great importance, I have been impressed by the broad-minded policy adopted in Baroda in the matters of education, public health, agriculture, women's franchise, infant-welfare, cottage industries and other beneficial activities too numerous to mention now, but of which I have seen evidence during my stay in the State and in all of which Lady Linlithgow and myself have been deeply interested.

Baroda State has over 2,500 schools, 109 medical institutions, including a very advanced General hospital, a mental and leper

asylum, a justly famous library with its ancillary system of rural circulating libraries and a fine museum and art gallery. These public services are available gratis and have been provided concurrently with reduced taxation. The fact that in spite of such reduced taxation the gross revenue has actually increased clearly demonstrates that prudent economic policy is increasing the wealth of the State and its subjects.

I was grieved to learn of the distress caused in some parts of the State by the partial failure of the monsoon, but I have heard of the speedy measures of relief adopted and that this was rendered possible as a result of wise husbanding of the State's resources over many years by means of which a considerable Reserve Fund has been built up from which expenditure on such emergencies can be met without disorganising the normal functions of Government. I have in the past, impressed upon my Political representatives the desirability of encouraging such prudence in the Indian States with which they are in relations and I trust that the example set by Baroda will be widely followed."

16. PRINCES' PLEDGE

Mar. 11, 1940

After dealing with the "most significant and the most important event" since the Chamber of Princes had met the previous year, the event of "overwhelming concern" to all, the outbreak of the war, and expressing his genuine appreciation of the Princes' support in the emergency, Lord Linlithgow expressed the earnest hope that Their Highnesses would not cease to give their continual and close attention to the perfecting of their administrative machinery. The value of administrative reform remained as great and as present as ever, and it would be rash to assume that troubles where they had for the time being subsided would not recur. He again drew Their Highnesses' particular attention to the desirability of the creation of joint services where small States in the same group were unable individually to maintain an adequate standard of administration. A beginning had been made in the direction. And it was of vital importance that progress should be made in that direction. Text of speech to the Chamber of Princes on March 11, 1940 :

"The most significant and the most important event since we met a year ago, the event of overwhelming concern to all of us here today is the outbreak of the war. His Majesty's Government continued till the last moment to spare no effort to resolve the difficulties that had arisen in the international sphere by peaceful means. If in the result their efforts were unsuccessful they can at least feel that they had left nothing undone and that no share of the responsibility for plunging the world into a conflict, the disastrous effects of which must last for many years to come, can fairly rest upon them.

The impact of the war has found the Princes of India, true to their traditions, staunchly loyal to His Majesty the King-Emperor. They have placed their forces, their personal services, and all their

resources at the disposal of the Crown, and they have contributed in every way open to them to the Empire's cause. Those offers have, I can assure Your Highnesses, been most deeply and genuinely appreciated, and, as you are aware, in every case in which it has been possible to accept them, they have been accepted with deep and real gratitude. Many of the Rulers of the Indian States have expressed the utmost eagerness to be allowed to serve personally in the theatre of war. I sympathise sincerely with them in their disappointment that it has not as yet been found possible to take advantage of these offers of personal service. Your Highnesses will be aware that so far the course of hostilities has differed very materially from that of the last war; up to the present there has been no substantial call on the manpower of India. If conditions alter in this respect, Your Highnesses may rest assured that your offers, so deeply valued, will be remembered.

Since our last meeting many of Your Highnesses have had to face difficult problems consequent on the succession of poor monsoons which has visited so many parts of India; and among those areas which have been particularly affected have been large tracts of Rajputana and Kathiawar. In the steps they have taken to meet this calamity, the Governments of all the important States concerned have made full and liberal use of their reserves, and they have devised widespread and well-organised plans for the relief of suffering. It is my earnest hope that this year the States affected will receive a timely and sufficient rainfall, and that the sufferings of the people and the anxiety of the States Governments will be brought to an end.

As Your Highnesses are aware, His Majesty's Government felt on the outbreak of war that in the conditions then prevailing and on a review of the probable course of hostilities, they had no option but to hold in suspense, however reluctantly, the work in connection with the preparations for Federation, while retaining Federation as their objective. But the suspension of those preparations does not mean that His Majesty's Government, to repeat the words which I used a month or two ago at Baroda, 'have in any way modified their own view as to the necessity for securing Indian unity—a unity which can only be complete if, in the constitutional arrangements of the future, the historic Indian States, with their great and special traditions, take the place which we have always looked forward to seeing them occupy.'

Your Highnesses are well aware of my views on the question of Federation, and of its many advantages from the point of view not only of the Indian States but of India as a whole, and in particular of the unity of India. I am confident that you will appreciate the importance of continuing to apply your minds to this vitally important problem and to the questions that arise in connection with it.

When we last met I spoke very frankly and very directly to Your Highnesses on the subject of setting the houses of the States in order. I do not wish to repeat all that I said then. My view of the profound importance of action on the lines which I then indicated remains unchanged. Indeed if anything I regard it, in the

light of developments over the last twelve months, as of greater importance now than I did when I addressed you in March, 1939. I gratefully acknowledge that many Rulers have of late made earnest endeavours to improve their administrative standards, that various admirable reforms have been introduced, and that measures have in many cases been taken to ensure that all legitimate complaints on the part of State subjects receive due consideration. But I earnestly hope that Your Highnesses will not cease to give your continual and close attention to the perfecting of your administrative machinery. The value of administrative reform remains as great and as present as ever, and it would be rash to assume that troubles, where they have for the time being subsided, will not recur.

That the Crown is anxious to give such help as it is properly incumbent upon it to give is clearly shown by the assistance rendered to various States in different parts of India, and by the establishment of the Crown Police Force, the object of which is, as you are aware, to assist the States Governments should the situation pass beyond their control. But I am sure that it is fully present to Your Highnesses that the maintenance of order in the territories of Indian States is primarily the responsibility of the Rulers concerned.

I would like to draw particular attention to the views I expressed last year as to the desirability and the importance of the creation of joint services where small States in the same group are unable individually to maintain an adequate standard of administration. I can well understand and sympathise with the reluctance of individual Rulers to depart in such matters from the strict path of tradition. But the spirit of the times makes it essential for them in their own interests to take a longer view.

A beginning has been made in the organisation of joint services. It is in my judgment of vital importance that progress should be made in that direction, and it is my sincere hope that this movement will develop, and that I can look to you, gentlemen, who are members of this most important body, to do all in your power to encourage its growth.

I have kept in the closest touch since we met last year with the action taken by States in various parts of India consequent on my address to the Chamber. You may be certain that the interest which I have taken in this matter and the care with which I follow all developments in connection with it, will not diminish in the time that lies ahead.

Since the last meeting of the Chamber, the reforms in its constitution, so strongly advocated by the great majority of its members, have been carried into effect. I earnestly trust that those reforms will lead to greater harmony, to more effective work, and to closer co-operation between all States, whether great or small, for the good of the Princely Order, and the prosperity and welfare of the subjects of the Rulers. Let me only add that I have under my consideration the proposals which have been submitted to me by the Standing Committee for the enlargement of the Chamber."

17. THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

Mar. 15, 1940 *A reference to India's constitutional problems was made by Lord Linlithgow in the course of his speech at a State Banquet at Kapurthala on March 15, 1940.*

"The anxiety of His Majesty's Government to see a solution of these problems," said His Excellency, "consistent with the unity of India, consistent with the legitimate rights and interests of all concerned and worthy of this great country and of its historic past needs no emphasis from me. If our endeavours have hitherto not met with success it has not been for want of trying or for want of goodwill, and there is no one, as you know, who is more concerned than myself to see the difficulties that have prevented the achievement of our wishes surmounted." Extracts:

"I am grateful to Your Highness for the references which you have been kind enough to make to my endeavours to contribute to the solution of the great constitutional problems of India. The anxiety of His Majesty's Government to see a solution of these problems consistent with the unity of India, consistent with the legitimate rights and interests of all concerned, and worthy of this great country and of its historic past, needs no emphasis from me. If our endeavours have not hitherto met with success, that has not been for want of trying or for want of goodwill; and there is no one, as you know, who is more concerned than I am to see the difficulties that have prevented the achievement of our wishes surmounted.

I have also to thank Your Highness on behalf of Her Excellency for the kind remarks you have made about her. She has the welfare of India's millions very much at heart and is delighted with the generous support she has received from Your Highness in her campaign against the terrible scourge of tuberculosis.

I have been impressed during my visit with the progress made by Your Highness' administration in the 'nation-building' departments and in particular with the success of your efforts to improve the breed of cattle and the standards of cultivation, animal husbandry, village hygiene and rural reconstruction generally. Your Highness is, I am sure, well aware that the prosperity of your predominantly agricultural State depends to a great extent upon a loyal and contented peasantry.

I am glad to learn that the Tika Raja is taking a prominent part in the administration on Your Highness' behalf. I feel sure that he is acquiring a first-hand knowledge of State affairs which will one day stand him in good stead.

The Empire is passing through a most critical phase of its long history, and the loyalty of the Princes of India was never more valuable or more appreciated. It is clear in this war, as in that of 1914-18, that Kapurthala is second to no State in its loyalty and devotion to the Crown and that Your Highness' martial subjects, by rallying to the Empire's call, are once more proving themselves true to the glorious traditions of the past. Under the able guidance of your gallant son, Major Maharajkumar Amarjit Singh, the State

Forces are being brought up to the required standard of efficiency and are at any moment ready to answer any call that may be made upon them. In this connection I would like to congratulate Your Highness on your wise decision to accept the 1939 State Forces Scheme, the outstanding advantages of which you and your advisers evidently appreciate.

I deeply appreciate the reference which Your Highness has just made to the tragic events of two days ago (the shooting outrage in Caxton Hall, London). This dreadful outrage has met with universal condemnation in India from every party and every class. In Sir Michael O'Dwyer, India and the Empire lose a great and distinguished administrator whose interest in India remained unflagging to the end and who over the many years since he left this country was well known as a ready adviser and a warm friend of young Indians of whatever class or community who while in London turned to him for help. The deep sympathy of all of us will go out to Lady O'Dwyer and her family in the irreparable loss which they have suffered. I need not say how profoundly I share the relief which Your Highness has expressed at the providential escape of Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and of Sir Louis Dane, all of them old and tried friends of India. I am glad to be able to say that the latest news I have of all the three is reassuring. Lord Zetland has sufficiently recovered to have returned to work, while Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane, according to the latest reports, are progressing favourably."

18. RED CROSS SOCIETY'S WORK

Satisfaction at the progress in the activities, greatly expanded on account of the war, of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society, was expressed by Lord Linlithgow at their annual general meeting on March 26, 1940. *Text of the speech :* **Mar. 26, 1940**

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,* SIR ERNEST BURDON, GENERAL JOLLY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is always a great pleasure to me to preside over this Annual General Meeting of your two Societies, and to welcome this gathering of delegates from all parts of India, so many of whom have demonstrated their enthusiasm for the work which the Societies represent, by giving up their time and undertaking a long and troublesome journey to the Capital.

India has not escaped the infection of the discords and rivalries which have disfigured the world's history and retarded its progress of late. Amidst all these, and in contrast to them, it is heartening to see two Societies, both of which had their beginnings in the strong desire to relieve the toll of suffering caused by war, going steadfastly forward, hand in hand, without competition, confusion or discouragement, jointly dedicated to the service of humanity, which so sorely stands in need of it today.

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* His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Robert Cassels.

The work which your Societies have done in peace is admirable, but, inevitably, it is in time of war that the test and the strain is heaviest. It was therefore with particular attention that I read the reports and listened to the interesting summaries which have just been presented to us by Sir Ernest Burdon and by General Jolly of the work that has been accomplished during the year in which we have been living partly under the shadow of imminent war and partly in a state of war itself.

There is every cause for satisfaction with the work that these reports reveal, and especially the report of the Central Joint War Committee. It was no small task to bring the Mobilisation Plan so smoothly into operation, and those responsible for it, both at Headquarters and on the Provincial Committees, fully deserve the compliments which have been paid to them in the speeches we have heard. I am happy to feel that the work so well prepared and begun is continuing with the smooth efficiency we should expect under the able guidance of the Red Cross Commissioner.

The work of the Joint War Committee involves a close co-operation with Army Headquarters, and it was in that sphere that the willing help and counsel of General Tabuteau, whose loss we mourn today, made itself particularly felt. I will not add to the tributes you have already heard paid to him, except to say that no one more richly deserved the honour recently conferred upon him of admission to the rank of Commander of the Order of St. John.

It is a matter of regret to all of us that this is the last Annual General Meeting which Sir Ernest Burdon will be attending. Three years ago, the first of these meetings over which I presided, was also the first at which Sir Ernest was present as Chairman of the St. John Ambulance Association and as a Knight of Grace. In those three years the St. John Ambulance Association and the Brigade, no less than the Indian Red Cross Society, have advanced in India with great strides. It is no exaggeration to say that Sir Ernest's share in the responsibility for this development is a very large one. The quality of his work and of his enthusiasm for the welfare of your two organisations, with which he has been intimately associated for the last nine years, is well known to all of you ; but no one, I think, can realise quite how hard Sir Ernest has worked, who has not been constantly and closely in touch with the activities not only of the Red Cross and St. John, but of the various other charities, funds and benevolent institutions, with which Sir Ernest has been associated for a much longer period of time. His help has been invaluable. His energy, his balanced judgment and his ripe experience have combined to make him the ideal Chairman and Chief Commissioner. We shall miss him very much.

Mr. Badenoch, whom I have nominated to succeed him as Chairman, needs no introduction either to you or to the work and responsibilities which await him. As Honorary Treasurer of both organisations he has already to his credit much valuable work, and I am sure that he will prove an able successor to Sir Ernest Burdon.

I feel sure, too, that you would wish me to welcome today, on your behalf, General Jolly, to this his first General Meeting as Chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society, having succeeded General Bradfield in that capacity last September. General Jolly's ability and energy have already been tried and proved in several fields, and you need have, I think, little doubt that the direction of the activities of the Indian Red Cross Society is in safe hands.

You have listened to the speeches of the Chairman, and you will have opportunity to study the reports of both organisations. There is no need for me to comment in detail on the activities of the past year, but there are one or two points among them, which particularly struck me and which I should like to mention. Dealing, first, with the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade, I was delighted to hear that 1939 had been a record year of achievement, both in the field of instruction in First Aid and Home Nursing, and in increase of membership of the Brigade; 8,000 members does not sound a large number in this country of hundreds of millions, but it represents a leap forward in membership by 60 per cent in one year. For this the war is no doubt responsible, but war or no war, let us hope that this increase will have set the standard for the years to come, for India has and will always have need of as many trained workers as she can get, of the type that are found in the St. John Ambulance Brigade. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the organisation of the Brigade on a territorial basis coinciding with Provinces, under the control of heads of Civil Medical Departments, has been completed. This arrangement, I am sure, will greatly assist to maintain the efficiency of the Brigade in India.

We may hope that there will be no call in India to put into practice A.R.P. and anti-gas training provided by St. John Ambulance, but the importance of having ready a supply of volunteers skilled in such measures needs no emphasis from me. I have myself witnessed in Simla and been impressed by a demonstration of the results of this training. On that occasion so realistic was the air-raid arranged to try the mettle of the workers that it was necessary to warn the citizens of Simla beforehand, by beat of drum, to be of good cheer since the raid was not the real thing.

The Mobilisation Plan and the formation of the Joint War Committee made it inevitable and proper that the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance should share the burden of and the credit for much that has been accomplished during the past year. In particular I would like to mention the Women's Auxiliary Corps in Bombay, the numerous work parties that have been formed up and down the country, typical of which is the party that works so zealously here in Delhi under the guidance of Lady Cassels, and the organisation of a Voluntary Aid Service of Nurses to supplement the Nursing Branch of the Army Medical Services. These are all solid achievements of great value, within the scope of both organisations.

Let me mention now some matters which pertain more particularly to the Indian Red Cross Society. I was most interested to

hear of a Blood Transfusion Service in Bengal. This is an example which I hope will spread.

I hope, too, that the donation from the British National Institute for the Blind, which has been spent upon education work on the prevention of blindness, is a seed that will multiply a hundredfold. My appeal for funds for St. Dunstan's Hostel, and Sir Clutha Mackenzie's recent tour of India (though St. Dunstan's, of course, works only for the war blinded) have, I think, roused interest in the grave problem of blindness in this country and have perhaps inspired the hope that much might be done here by way of prevention, cure and after-care, in co-operation with the great institutions which already exist outside India for the purpose.

The growth of the Indian Red Cross Society is clearly a healthy one. Perhaps the clearest evidence that it is destined for still greater service in the India of the future is the continued development and expansion of the Junior Red Cross. This is in my opinion one of the aspects of Red Cross activities which deserves the greatest attention—so that the principles for which the Red Cross stands should be planted firmly in as many as possible of the youth of the country.

It is gratifying to note that the Society in India has been able to extend help to other parts of the world, which stood in need of it, and that two nurses in India have been awarded by the International Red Cross Committee the distinction of the Florence Nightingale Medal. This, and the fact that the war has not yet curtailed the normal peace-time activities of the Red Cross in India, betokens good organisation and reserves of strength. But there is no doubt that those reserves still need most urgently to be built up both in members and in funds, against a severer testing time which may yet be in store. The response by the public to my appeal for funds for the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance—which was greatly assisted by the willing co-operation of the Press—has been generous, especially considering the claims of other War Funds. But there can never be too much generosity in such a cause, and I feel sure that if and when the greater need arises it will be found that the springs of public support in India have barely yet been tapped.

Ladies and Gentlemen, once again I thank you for coming here today, and I wish you every success in the arduous and responsible duties which you have to perform. Your work is full of the greatest significance for the future of the world and of our civilisation. 80 years ago the sight of the dying and wounded lying uncared for on the bloody field of Selferino so impressed one man that he set in train the international conference which ended in the signing of the Geneva Convention, and the birth of the Red Cross. 700 years before that in Jerusalem, in the midst of the Crusades, the Poor Brotherhood of the Hospital of St. John was established as an Order of Knighthood, of which it was said that 'amidst the noise and clashing of swords, and with a continual war upon their hands it was capable of joining the peaceable virtues of religion with the most distinguishing courage in the field.'

War is an evil thing, but out of war have arisen such symbols as the Red Cross of Geneva and the eight-pointed White Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, the arms of which represent the virtues of prudence, temperance, justice and fortitude. These are ancient symbols, and they have undoubtedly helped to lead the world along the paths of humanity and progress. The shadow of another symbol, not so humane, is now brooding over our civilisation. When it has passed, mankind will still need the services of those who work under the Red Cross and the Cross of St. John ; they will not be found wanting, and they will come to their work, I know, with strength renewed and with their chivalry untarnished."

19. "IN UNITY LET US FIND STRENGTH"

" In unity let us find strength," urged Lord Linlithgow in a broadcast to India from Simla on May 26, 1940. **May 26, 1940**

Declaring that the watchwords were Unity, Courage and Faith, His Excellency said what India most needed now was selfless service for the people as a whole, without regard to class or creed.

" India, whether British India or the Indian States, has already made a great and generous contribution, in men, in money and in material, to the conduct of the war and to the attainment of ideals which have found the strongest support from all classes in the country—a contribution the magnitude and importance of which has been recognised on every side."

Text of the broadcast :—

" I would like to say a few words at this difficult moment when the military position in France is grave.

I cannot give you more news of that position than is already available to you in the public press and over the wireless. Nor can I attempt to forecast what the immediate military consequences may be. But I would like to say that I am proud, as I am sure that you are proud, that we have certain detachments from the Indian Army serving with the B.E.F. in this hour of supreme trial. We may be sure that in carrying out their duties they will nobly sustain the highest traditions of Indian armed forces, whose reputation for courage and devotion is second to none.

I said a moment ago that I am not able to foretell the immediate military consequences that may flow from the present strategical position in Northern France. I can, however, and with all the confidence and conviction of which I am capable, assure you of this, that no difficulty, or loss, or disappointment, at this initial phase of the active campaign will turn us from our purpose of waging war against the enemy until the objects for which we drew the sword are secured. Let me remind you of the Prime Minister's speech delivered to the House of Commons only last week :—

' We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many many long months of struggle and suffering. . .

You ask what is our aim. I can give the answer in one word—it is victory—victory at all costs, victory in spite of all perils, victory however long and hard the road may be.'

Those were brave words. Let us, then, face the stark truth that we are now only at the outset of a long and arduous campaign, to be waged unceasingly by land, sea and air, a campaign which may indeed last as long as the Great War of 1914-1918, which will strain and test all our resources, both moral and material; but a campaign the outcome of which, so long as we are true to ourselves, is going to be the triumph of right against the dark forces that threaten to overwhelm our civilisation.

You and I are far away from the scene of those events that at present hold the attention of the world. Most of us desire to help—to do all that in our power lies to aid those who are bearing themselves so bravely in face of danger. India, whether British India or the Indian States, has already made a great and a most generous contribution, in men, in money, and in material to the conduct of the war, and to the attainment of ideals which have found the strongest public support from all classes in this country,—a contribution the magnitude and the importance of which has been recognised on every side. She, I know, will continue, in circumstances such as those that now confront us, to lend all the aid in her power to the triumph of a just and righteous cause.

In the field of Defence in particular, you will have seen that in face of these grave happenings, immediate steps are being taken to secure the maximum expansion of our Defence Forces and Services (including the Indian Air Force) which may be practicable having regard to the limitations of our indigenous resources in material. Nor, I can assure you, shall any other effort be spared to respond to the anxiety so widely and so generally felt to contribute to the outcome of the war.

Let me tell you how, in respects other than material, our contribution can best be made, and let me appeal to each one of you tonight to make such a contribution.

First of all let us be steadfast in our faith that a cause such as ours cannot be beaten. None can subdue for long or throughout the world the spirit of man, for that spirit draws its ultimate impulse from God. Therefore let us take comfort and confidence, every one of us, from those profound beliefs which throughout the ages have been the unfailing support and inspiration of mankind.

So fortified, let us resolve to strengthen and steady those with whom we come into contact. Let us warn them against believing or repeating to others idle rumour or panic tale, both probably emanating from enemy sources.

Above all, let us count in these testing times a sacred duty to the land we love to suppress all differences that divide us. They may be real enough, those differences, and in the fulness of time we may have once more to discuss policies designed to remove them. In that event, we shall all of us, whatever our opinions, be free to

use our influence in accord with our consciences. Meantime, let us frankly recognise that this is no time for internal difference our dispute. Let us rather put away these things and give our minds and hearts to the service of the common weal. In unity let us find strength. Above all, let us guard and support public order and internal peace, which in these times are indeed our most precious possessions.

Lastly, let me say a word, as man to man, to each one of you. Fear is the most potent of all foes, for it destroys not only the mind but also the spirit. Therefore set fear aside. Put away, too, all vague and shadowy doubts—those haunting demons of the mind that are the advance-guards of fear. India is an ancient land, and she has witnessed many storms. From her steady gaze, if you will look into her eyes, you may take this comfort, and learn against this age-old truth, that the fiercest storm must in the end abate, and that darkest days give place in due season to clear skies and to light.

I have been amongst you now for many moons, both in good times and in heavy. No difficulties or disappointments have diminished my faith in the future of this great country, and that faith is as firm today as at any time. What India most needs now is selfless service for the people as a whole, without regard to class or creed. I will not spare myself in that cause. That will be easy for me, for I shall be labouring to the best of my capacity for those who have long commanded my respect and who now hold my affection. I know I shall not call in vain upon you for the best and truest service of which each one is capable.

Remember that, until I speak to you again—the watchwords are: Unity; Courage; Faith!

Goodnight, and may God be with you each and all!"

20: CIVIC GUARD FOR INDIA

Text of Lord Linlithgow's statement issued on June 5, 1940 :— **June 5, 1940**

"In my broadcast of May 26, I made it clear that no effort would be spared to respond to the anxiety so widely and so generally felt to contribute to the outcome of the war. Details of the expansion of our Defence forces were given on May 25. The Commander-in-Chief, in his broadcast of May 31, has further explained the steps that are being taken to this end, and the help which India has given to the Allied cause. Details of the supply effort of India, which we are doing all in our power to increase and to develop still further are being released to the press. On June 4, details were published of the National Defence Savings Movement.

This is a grave moment in our history and the emergency which faces us is real and serious. It is of vital importance that every effort should be strained to give the maximum assistance that we can. It is for that maximum assistance, that maximum co-operation, that I would like to appeal today.

I well know how strong is the desire to help in every way possible, and the Governors of the Provinces, and their Governments, are as anxious as are the Government of India and I myself to do all we can to respond to that desire.

I have been in touch with all Governors on this subject. We are all agreed as to the desirability of setting up at once District War Committees in each district. Those District War Committees will be designed to afford the primary means by which the public will receive guidance and assistance in every aspect of war conditions by which they are affected, and will be enabled to organise themselves to contribute in a variety of ways to the common safety and the war effort.

Their scope would, among other objects, include the dissemination in connection with the war, and assistance in matters such as recruitment, the support of the National Defence Savings Movement, and the like. Immediate steps are being taken by the Governors of the different provinces to establish these Committees.

I am anxious, too, to take the fullest advantage of the widespread anxiety to give personal service of a voluntary character in connection with internal defence measures, an anxiety which I deeply appreciate and value.

I have been in consultation with provincial governments as to the forming of a body of a voluntary character which would be affiliated to the regular police and which could render service in connection with the maintenance of public order, A.R.P., anti-sabotage, and various other important aspects of internal defence. There is agreement on all sides as to the desirability of establishing such an organisation without delay.

I propose that it should be called 'The Civic Guard' and that it should be organised provincially. This will make it possible for it to adapt itself to the differing conditions of the different provinces. Provincial Governments are actively engaged on the details of the proposed organisation, the conditions of its membership, and the work which it will be required to undertake, and an early announcement may be looked for in each province.

I am confident that the Indian States, whose contributions to the prosecution of the war have already been so generous and to whose attention the steps which are being taken in British India are being brought, will welcome the opportunity still further to manifest the warmth of their support for the common cause by action on similar lines to the extent that circumstances permit.

Let me again on this occasion renew the appeal I have already made for unity, for the sinking of differences, and for the concentration of our endeavours on the effective prosecution of the war. The value of the help that we can render in a cause, support for which in this country is so great, is inestimable. The sincerity and the spontaneity of the response that has been made on every side are indeed encouraging and heartening features at the time of great gravity.

India has made a great effort in the months that have passed. The help that she is anxious to give and that she can give in the difficult days that lie before us is greater still, and I feel sure that the contribution she will make will be one worthy of her attachment to the ideals for which we are fighting and of her ancient name."

21. VICEROY URGES COURAGE AND CONFIDENCE

In a dark hour for the cause of the Allies, Lord Linlithgow broadcasting from Simla on June 19, 1940, re-affirms the determination of His Majesty's Government to fight on until their ideals are achieved, and urges the people of India to maintain their courage and confidence unimpaired. **June 19, 1940**

" When I last spoke to you nearly a month ago I said 'until I speak to you again, the watchwords are Unity, Courage, Faith.'

Tonight I speak to you again at a time of trial heavier still. The situation in the West is still obscure. We do not yet know the precise turn events are taking. But it is clear that our gallant ally, France, has on her own territory had to meet a strain which has been greater than her resources enabled her to cope with.

What are our intentions in this grave situation ? I can put them in a word. The withdrawal of our allies, if that withdrawal is confirmed, does not in the very least degree affect the settled determination of His Majesty's Government to continue the struggle to defeat the enemy and to achieve the ideals for which we have been fighting. Save by the defeat of the enemy there is no hope of the achievement of those ideals, and no hope of survival of modern civilisation, for the protection of which we have been prepared to make so many sacrifices.

I am confident that the people of India will wholeheartedly endorse the determination of His Majesty's Government to prosecute this war until the safety of all those things for which we are fighting has been secured. The struggle will be a long and hard one. We must expect in its course to meet severe reverses, to undergo great sacrifices, to pass through many dark and difficult moments of doubt and apprehension. But the grave situation that confronts us is one that must be faced in the same spirit of resolute endeavour, of calm confidence, as has always been shown by us in grave emergency. So faced, it will be overcome, and victory will be won. We must bend every effort, all of us, each in our own way, to bring about that victory, to achieve the ideals for which we are fighting.

What of our preparedness in India, and what of the effect on India of these new developments ?

No effort has been spared to bring our defence arrangements to the highest pitch. You have heard yesterday of the programme of defence expansion on which we are engaged—a programme which I can assure you shall be urged on and developed to the utmost practicable limit, with all the personal help and interest that I can

give it. We are actively pursuing possibilities of reinforcing our equipment in this country by purchase from outside.

You have heard that India is now sending a representative to work with the Greenly Mission in the United States. We are discussing with His Majesty's Government all possible methods of expanding our output, and of lending greater assistance still to the common effort. You may feel certain that nothing is being left undone to secure in the highest degree possible the safety of India against aggression.

What message have I for all of you in these dark days? My message is—courage and confidence. There is no reason for any undue alarm, still less for panic. All of us in India can best serve the country's interests by going about our business in the ordinary way, mindful at all times of the great events that are happening, and of the contribution, direct or indirect, that we can make to them. There is no way in which harm can more easily, and more unconsciously, be done to India and to her interests than by yielding to the panic fears against which I uttered a warning when I spoke to you last month, those panic fears that, once admitted, so swiftly undermine the spirit, not only of the individual man and woman, but of country-side.

I know the anxiety of the ordinary citizen to do all that he or she can to contribute in their own way to maintaining public order within this country. The Governors and I have tried to respond to that desire by setting up recently organisations with which you are familiar.

Let me only say to-night that I had always thought of these organisations as being wholly non-political and wholly non sectarian. I am quite certain that that is what they will in practice prove to be, and that it is only on that basis that they can render the service for which they are designed. I trust that any misunderstanding there may have been in that regard will be removed by this assurance. My appeal was, and is still, to the individual citizens of every community to come forward and to make their contribution towards the greater security of their motherland.

I would urge you all once more to consider the importance of unity. Let me again appeal for the temporary sinking of political differences in this time of trial, and for united effort in which all parties can join for the common good. That political differences exist we all know only too well; that there are deep differences of outlook, based on honest and sincere conviction.

But at a time of trial such as the present I would hope that we could, all of us, come together in a way which would not take account of those political differences, and which would admit of the disputes regarding them being put aside, by common consent, until happier times. My own anxiety to see that consummation is well known to you. I have always been, and I remain today, ready and anxious to lend any help I can myself towards it.

Before I leave you, let me reaffirm the watchwords which I gave you when we were last together—Unity, Courage, Faith. Those are the pillars on which our house must stand—those are the vital things in which we must repose our trust."

22. ARMY EXPANSION

That nothing would be left undone that could be done towards the expansion of India's armed forces or their equipment was the assurance given by Lord Linlithgow addressing the Madras Provincial War Committee on July 30, 1940. **July 30, 1940**

" I am delighted that I should have this opportunity of meeting you this evening, of hearing how quickly you have got to work ; what you have accomplished so far, and what you intend for the future.

This is the first occasion on which I have been privileged to meet a Provincial War Committee and I am grateful to you for the clear proofs you have given me of the patriotic and loyal co-operation, the energy, the keenness and determination with which the people of this Presidency and the citizens of this city have united to lend their services to the common cause.

I congratulate you on the admirable manner in which your Committee appears to have been organised. It is broad-based, I am happy to observe, and representative ; and this is exactly what I had hoped ; for, as I said not many days ago, I am sure that it is only when such organisations as yours are wholly non-political and non-sectarian that they can truly and efficiently render the service for which they are designed.

It is only to be expected that Madras, in this as in other fields of war effort, would be in the front rank ; but it is none the less a great encouragement to one to know that such a fine example has been set by you ; and if in other parts of India similar Committees have organised themselves and set about their duties with the enthusiasm that you have shown, we are already a long way on the road to achieving that greater security of the motherland, which is our goal.

The reports of your Sub-Committees contain a number of important points which, in the short time available this evening, you will not expect me to discuss in detail. Every one of the proposals which you have made is evidence of that spirit which I find so heartening, that determination on your part to contribute your utmost to the winning of the War. The precise manner in which some of your proposals are to be met is not altogether free from controversy, but I can nevertheless assure you that they have all received and will receive the fullest and most sympathetic consideration from my Government.

I have arranged that Mr. Dow, the Vice-President of the Supply Board, and Mr. Puckle, Director-General of Information, should pay a visit to Madras coinciding with my own, and I hope that you will take the opportunity which this affords of personal discussion with

them of problems of common interest in the field of supply and the mobilisation of industries, and of publicity.

I know how keenly you desire that this Presidency should have its full share in the present expansion of the Armed Forces of this country, a desire which does honour to the people of South India. That expansion is going forward as fast as the temporary limitations of equipment and training establishments will allow.

Meanwhile it is a source of great satisfaction to me, as I am sure it is to you to observe that recruitment to the Army in Madras in the last nine months has been over ten times as great as the normal annual recruitment from the Presidency. Two entirely new battalions—one Territorial and one Pioneer—have been raised, in addition to a new Mechanical Transport unit; and there will certainly be further large demands on your manpower for Sappers and Miners, for Pioneers, for Signallers, and for more Mechanical Transport units,—all of them branches of the fighting Services in which I can confidently say that the people of this Presidency are second to none.

The doors of recruitment to the Indian Air Force on an all-India basis stand wide open and Madrassis are as eligible for all ranks of it as young men from other parts of India. The standards of selection are necessarily high, and I hope and trust that Madrassis will be well represented among those who are chosen.

Before I turn from this subject let me assure you again in the most emphatic manner that nothing will be left undone that can be done in connection with the expansion of the Indian armed forces or their equipment.

It is as necessary to make provision for the munitions required in modern warfare as it is to raise the necessary forces. We are making every effort possible to make India as self-sufficient as may be, and we shall continue to do so.

It is not sufficient to raise great forces; we have to be able to train them, and to train them by skilled personnel which itself takes time to train. In the field of supply, you are, many of you, gentlemen, familiar in connection with your private businesses with the extreme difficulty in present conditions of securing skilled technical labour, machine tools and technical machinery. Those factors have to be borne in mind.

Nor, finally, can we overlook altogether the question of cost. It has been already stated that the expansion on which we are already working is to cost twenty crores: it is a matter of multiplication to gauge the cost to India of an expansion on the scale that many of us would like to see, and that so many of us have asked for.

I have mentioned these difficulties, for it would not be fair not to touch on them. But let me assure you again that we are ready to grapple with them, and that they will not diminish our anxiety to see India in a position to play a part worthy of her history, and adequate to the dangers that confront her today.

Your Finance Sub-Committees and your District Committees are energetically engaged in raising funds for War Purposes. I am sure that their approach cannot fail to achieve very considerable results.

I am the more confident of this when I consider that, in nine months, donations to my own War Purposes Fund, quite apart from those which have been made directly to the Indian Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association, to St. Dunstan's, and to the various Funds which have been opened in the Provinces, have exceeded the sum of rupees one crore.

As you know, I have not made any direct appeal for these contributions: I announced the opening of my Fund, and its existence has been advertised from time to time. But this remarkable result has been achieved by the entirely spontaneous gifts of loyal men and women from every class of His Majesty's subjects in this country; from the richest as well as the poorest in the land. How much more then, surely, can your Committee and your District Committees achieve by a more direct and active approach to the generosity and the patriotism of the people of the Madras Presidency.

I wish to thank also your Propaganda Sub-Committee, which is preparing and issuing information in the form of pamphlets and posters.

It is engaged in work of which I cannot too strongly emphasise the importance: iteration and reiteration is the secret of success in this field of your work: the truth cannot be too often repeated. I assure you that you can rely on the utmost co-operation in this work from my Director-General of Information, and you should not hesitate to use to the full the organisation which he controls.

I cannot end my remarks to you without mentioning the importance of your Civic Guards.

I have told you that I know full well how anxious the ordinary citizen is to do all that he or she can to contribute to the safety and to the maintenance of public order in this country. The raising of a Civic Guard provides that opportunity.

Our defences are sound and let us hope that we have no enemy within our gates. But our defences have to be protected, and recent events in Europe have shown us that against the 'fifth column' a nation that values its liberty can never be too well prepared.

We have our army and we have our police, but the more assistance they can get the more effective will be the shield that they provide. I am sure that a trained and disciplined body of voluntary workers such as your Civic Guard should be, can give that assistance to a degree that is beyond measure valuable.

It remains for me only to repeat how happy I am to have had this opportunity of meeting and speaking to you. I need not say that I shall watch the progress of your work with the keenest interest. May God speed your endeavours and may every success attend them."

They trust however that for the period of the war (with the Central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council) all parties, communities and interests will combine and co-operate in making a notable Indian contribution to the victory of the world cause which is at stake. Moreover they hope that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament."

24. WHAT BOMBAY SAYS TODAY, INDIA SAYS TOMORROW

Aug. 13, 1940

Extracts from speech to the Bombay War Committees at Bombay on August 13, 1940 :

"In the short time that your Committees have been organised you have already achieved a great deal, and I find it most encouraging to observe the spirit with which you have applied yourselves to your important tasks. I was particularly glad to hear from Your Excellency of the most valuable work which is being done in the districts.

I am delighted to notice the representative character of your Committees. The work on which you are engaged is of vital national importance—no less than the defence and security of this great country. Let us not under-estimate the task before us, but rather pledge ourselves to devote all our resources, spiritual as well as material, and all our energies to the high purpose of victory. Here in India we may all of us take heart and courage from the certain knowledge that the whole of this country—with a degree of unanimity which is immensely significant—is with us in our determination at all cost to preserve India from the malignant influence of Nazi power. You will have read in the Statement which I was authorised to make last Thursday, of the desire of His Majesty's Government to promote in India that unity of national purpose which will enable India to make, in full measure, the great and worthy contribution to the common cause which it is in her power to make, and of the steps which I propose to take to that end. I am convinced that all who serve on War Committees, here in Bombay City, in the districts and elsewhere throughout India, must lay aside all political and sectarian prejudices if they are well and truly to perform the task for which the Committees are designed. They must work, as I am sure you are working, united by a single purpose—the defence of the Commonwealth by the winning of this war.

There is one matter, which I should like to mention—a matter which is of very great concern to all of us—I refer to the expansion of the Indian Armed Forces and of India's war effort in the production of munitions and equipment and in the field of supply. We would—most of us—like to see an army of a million men called into being to defend these shores, as it were, at a word of command. Your impatience to see this accomplished is natural, and the desire of this Presidency

to bear its full share in the expansion does you credit. Bombay Presidency has already supplied nearly 10,000 recruits since the outbreak of war, and I know that the supply of manpower is far from exhausted. I assure you that everything possible is being done and will continue to be done, not only to recruit and train the forces which the country needs as quickly as temporary limitations of equipment will allow, but to make India as self-sufficient as possible to arm, equip and supply those forces. I have myself seen factories in this country, where the lathes are turning and the machines working night and day, and thousands of men are engaged in turning out munitions and other material of war in ever-increasing quantities. It is an inspiring sight; and it is only a beginning. One cannot produce modern armies, springing fully armed and equipped from the ground, by a simple order to the recruiting sergeants. Their equipment and their training takes time. Equipment is the limiting factor, and in this field we are still short of machinery and of skilled men to use it. But we are in process of overcoming these difficulties. Once they are removed, expansion will be possible to the full measure of our requirements.

Let me turn now to the work of your various Committees. I am exceedingly glad to learn that His Excellency the Governor's War Gifts Fund is making such good progress, and I trust that the energetic approach of the Committee which is in charge of this Fund (generously assisted as it is by the Press) will secure a contribution commensurate with the size and the importance of this Presidency.

The main object to which you have decided to apply the money you raise—a fighter squadron for the Indian Air Force—is well-chosen to appeal to the public imagination, and one which is clearly and directly related to the defence of these shores. As you know, arrangements are in train to make aircraft available for the expanded Indian Air Force, and let us hope it will not be long before one of the new Squadrons is proudly carrying the name of this Presidency. A fighter squadron, with reserves, costs nearly 34 lakhs of rupees, and a single fighter plane costs nearly a lakh and a half. Let each town and group of villages see whether it can produce the means to supply a fighter plane: let Gujarat vie with the Carnatic to see which can first produce a flight or more of aircraft, and you will soon have one squadron, if not two or three.

I trust that the figures of investment in Defence Loans will soon be more encouraging, and I shall certainly see that the suggestions which you have made for improving the position in this respect are at once carefully considered. Investment to assist war effort should appeal not only to the rich man, but to the man of more moderate means who cannot afford to give his money for the cause as freely as he can lend it. Spontaneous gifts from all classes of people, ranging from several lakhs of rupees to a few annas, have amounted, in the case of my own War Purposes Fund to a remarkable total of over one crore of rupees in less than 10 months; the donors were those whose ready patriotism needed no appeal to make their offering to the common cause. This city and the districts of the Presidency can claim

many wealthy citizens, and I am encouraged to believe that, when they are reminded by your appeals that a loosening of their purse-strings for gift or loan will hasten the ultimate victory, they (and not only the wealthy, but every man according to his means), will respond in a manner worthy of your traditional liberality.

Your War Publicity Committee has been very active. I think, if I may say so, that your idea of installing a loudspeaker system to convey to the public a continuous supply of straight news, is an admirable one, and I have arranged that it should be commended to the attention of Committees in other parts of India. Lies and alarmist rumours will only prevail if people do not hear the truth often enough. There is no discouragement in the truth and it is important for India that it should be told, in Bombay, again and again ; for I need hardly remind you, Gentlemen, that what Bombay says, or what Bombay believes today, has echoed right round this sub-continent by tomorrow ."

25. LAWRENCE MILITARY SCHOOL

Sept. 14, 1940

Speech in presenting new School Colour to the Lawrence Royal Military School, Sanawar, on September 14, 1940 :—

"Mr. Principal, Members of the Staff, Boys and Girls of the Lawrence Royal Military School,—I count it a great honour to present to you today this newly consecrated colour. When colours were first presented to the School by Lord Dalhousie nearly 88 years ago, our grandfathers, at the beginning of the second half of the 19th century, were facing the future with a certain degree of complacency and self-satisfaction, which the onset of war in the Crimea and of troubles in this country was soon to disturb.

In 1922, when those first colours were replaced by new ones the British Empire, with its Allies, had recently emerged victorious from the greatest test to which it had till then been subjected: and now, for the third time you are receiving a new school colour in a year which will prove, I believe, to be one of the greatest landmarks in our history—in the history of civilisation itself.

From this crisis, too, we shall emerge victorious, I have no doubt : and, please God, we shall have shed all complacency and be purified in spirit and strengthened in our resolve to build a new and better world.

For this purpose the world will surely need young men and women imbued in full measure with that strength of character which it was the object of your School's great founder to produce. It will call for hard and unremitting work, great faith, steadfastness of purpose, discipline and loyalty ; loyalty not only to an earthly ruler, but to the principles for which we are now fighting, and to God. Of such loyalty this colour is the emblem and, in the spirit in which we have just prayed, may it ever inspire you and those who will come after you to prepare yourselves for service in the cause of justice and righteousness."

26. THAILAND GOODWILL MISSION

Speech welcoming the Thailand Goodwill Mission led by H. E. Captain Luang Dhamrong Navasvasti, at Simla on October 3, 1940: **Oct. 3, 1940**

"It is my pleasure and privilege this evening, on behalf of the King-Emperor, to welcome you, Captain Luang Dhamrong Navasvasti and the other Members of the Thailand Goodwill Mission, to the summer capital of the Government of India.

My Government would have liked to have been able to entertain you themselves at the winter capital of Delhi, where it would have been easier to show you things of greater interest than can be seen here in the Himalaya Mountains, but the exigencies of your programme made this impossible.

None the less I am profoundly gratified to learn that you intend to visit Delhi, where you will find, gathered in proximity to the buildings of India's new capital, the monuments of many centuries of Indian civilisation and history, and where I know that the Head of the Delhi Province will endeavour to give you such insight as is possible into the workings of the administration of the Imperial capital.

I hope, too, that you will find your visit to the North-West Frontier of India and to Bombay interesting as well as pleasant. On the North-West Frontier you will be able to see something of India's problems on her land frontier, and in Bombay and Calcutta two of the great ports of Asia. You may be certain that you will receive from the people of the provinces you visit the warmest and most sincere of welcomes.

I could only have wished that time had permitted of your undertaking a tour still more extensive, for I can assure you of the depth of the interest which your friendly visit has called forth throughout India, and of the anxiety of the people of this ancient land to do all honour in their power to the representatives of your famous State, so closely joined with India by so many historic and cultural links.

It is not often that we have the privilege of welcoming a Cabinet Minister of another Government to India, and I can assure you that the peoples of India are proud of the opportunity of showing some of the sights and problems of their great country to the emissaries of a State with which the whole British Empire, as well as India, have always enjoyed such happy relations.

The most recent proof of this lies in the Non-Aggression Treaty between Great Britain and Thailand, from which we may draw renewed confidence that the well-established traditions of friendship and goodwill between Thailand and the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations will stand firm through these difficult times. The heritage of Thailand, which I know means the land of the free, is one of peace and neutrality, and we in India cannot but

regard the visit of Your Excellency's Mission as offering us fresh assurance that the heritage will not be forgotten.

I can only hope that, when Your Excellency's Mission leave India, you will carry with you the memory of a great and hospitable people, whose history and aspirations in common with those of Thailand, will always incline them to seek and maintain that spirit of peace and goodwill towards friendly neighbours, which your Mission is so admirably designed to promote."

27. EASTERN GROUP CONFERENCE

Oct. 25, 1940

The countries of the Eastern Group of the British Commonwealth of Nations had it in their power, working together, to make towards the common cause a contribution which was destined to be of the greatest value, and which might indeed prove to be decisive, said Lord Linlithgow in his speech at the opening of the Eastern Group Conference in the Council Chamber, New Delhi, on October 25, 1940.

This Conference, said His Excellency, was almost unique in the political experience of the British Commonwealth. It represented the active collaboration of a part of the Commonwealth in the interests of the whole, and it implied that those parts of the Empire lying east and south of Suez were about to investigate the assumption of new responsibilities which would lighten the burden of the Mother Country.

Text of the speech :

" The need for a Conference such as this has long been apparent to those who have studied the organisation of the British Commonwealth of Nations for a protracted war ; and from the ready response to the invitations which I was recently authorised by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to send out, I judge that other Empire Governments in this part of the world are as eager as the Government of India to make the Conference a living part of our war effort.

India may congratulate herself on her fortunate geographical position ; for her the occasion is historic, and on behalf of my Government and the people of India I extend a very cordial welcome to the visiting Delegations. I also welcome the Ministry of Supply Mission whose opportune arrival in India will enable the Conference to benefit by the advice of Sir Alexander Roger and his colleagues. I am glad, too, to think that we shall have available to us the advice of the strong and representative body of non-official advisers from India who are present here today.

I would not have it thought here or elsewhere that the holding of the Conference implies any failure of the members of the " Eastern Group " of Empire countries to help one another in the war effort. Indeed, we in India have been much impressed by the eagerness of other Empire Governments to help us, and we hope that we for our part have done our best to meet such demands as they have made upon us.

What the Conference does imply is something very different—a determination not merely to help one another, but to pool our resources so that we may as a group of Governments and countries put forth the greatest material war effort that we can.

The idea underlying the Conference is by no means new; it arises from the Imperial Conference of 1937. But its urgency has been borne in upon us more particularly during the past six months. Many of the countries represented here played a great part in the War of 1914—18, contributing without stint men, money and material. In that war, however, material resources, though of great importance, were considerably less important than they are today, and it is probably true that the outlying Empire countries concentrated very largely upon manpower and the simpler forms of equipment, relying upon the highly organised industries of the United Kingdom and her Allies to do the rest.

When the present war began we knew that conditions would be very different, but we could not foresee the fall of Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium; and the destruction of France as a military power and ally in Europe. The British Empire now fights alone, and must not only find the men and material to defend the United Kingdom against invasion, but provide for the defence of her outlying members, and for the equipment of the remnants of the forces of her conquered Allies.

This Conference therefore, while having a precedent in the Imperial Conference of 1937, nevertheless falls into a category almost unique in the political experience of the British Commonwealth.

It represents the active collaboration of a part of the Commonwealth in the interests of the whole; it implies that those parts of the Empire which lie east and south of Suez are about to investigate the assumption of new responsibilities, which will lighten the burden on the Mother Country at a time when she is preoccupied with difficult problems peculiar to the present phase of the war; and it reflects those qualities of resiliency and adaptability which are a characteristic feature of our political institutions, for it means that those units of the Commonwealth which are situated in the Eastern hemisphere are ready and willing to associate themselves with policies in which self-interest and self-assertion are relegated to second place in face of the menace that is confronting the Commonwealth as a whole.

The spread of the war in the direction of the Middle East cannot disrupt the political integrity of the Commonwealth, because that integrity is rooted in freedom and justice which are component elements of that political philosophy which imbues all sections of the Commonwealth. A threat to any part of the Commonwealth is a threat to the whole and the immediate danger is being faced at present in the Mother Country.

In this situation our first plain duty is to relieve the United Kingdom of such of her burdens as we can bear ourselves, and I suggest that we can best do this by preparing a joint scheme showing clearly

how far, viewed not as individual Governments and countries, but as a group, we are capable of meeting our own war needs and of supplying in increasing measure the war needs of the United Kingdom.

The task of the Conference is, in brief, the preparation of such a scheme, and my Government and I are under no illusions as to the complexity of your deliberations. All or almost all the countries represented here are producers of raw materials ; some are fortunate in possessing more or less highly organised industries ; and some are able to manufacture munitions of war on a fairly large scale. It will be for the Delegations to declare the strengths and weaknesses of their respective countries, and for the Conference as a whole to say how far the deficiencies of one country can be made good by the actual or potential surplus of another.

It is possible that in respect of certain items of supply no planning may be needed ; but there will, I believe, be room for planning and " rationalization " over a very wide field. The Conference clearly cannot stop short at recommending a comparatively easy exchange of raw materials and manufactured articles ; it will have to consider the position of the participating countries as a group and the best methods of making the group self-supporting.

You may find when you come to consider the establishment of new manufactures, that it is convenient that one or more countries within the group should concentrate upon particular items and that some general allocation of industrial responsibility will be inevitable. Again you may find that all the countries in the group are short of certain essentials, and the means of securing these will have to be planned.

The procedure by which the Conference will approach and solve these important problems is, of course, for the Conference to decide. Many of the problems to be discussed are, in their detailed aspects, a matter for experts, and I should like to make it clear that my Government intends to make available to individual Delegations and to the Conference as a whole all the expert assistance at its command whether of an official or non-official character.

India is frequently described as a bureaucratic country, but we rely greatly both in peace and in war on the co-operation of organised industry, and I acknowledge now with gratitude the readiness and generosity with which Indian industry has responded to our wartime needs.

The services of experts engaged in industry have been at our disposal from the first, and I am glad to think that so many of the gentlemen who have devoted so much time and thought to production problems since the war began have come to New Delhi to advise the Conference and its various Committees. Our own official experts are also available, particularly on the more specialized side of Munitions Production ; and I am sure that I am speaking for Sir Alexander Roger when I say that his very capable team will give all the help they can.

It would be idle to expect that the scheme to be drawn up by this Conference will be so complete and detailed that it will leave nothing to be settled by the participating countries. It will, we all hope, be a clear enunciation of policy and principles, but there will inevitably be a great mass of detail to be settled after the Conference disperses.

One of the objects of the Conference is, therefore, to consider the establishment of a Standing Committee to see that the Conference policy is acted upon with promptitude and energy. Whether this Committee can be of real use, as my Government believes, what countries should be represented upon it, and when it should be established, are matters for the Conference to consider.

What I have said so far relates entirely to war supply, and the Conference will doubtless deal with war supply and nothing else. We know, however, that some visiting Delegations desire to make use of the facilities available here for the discussion of wider economic issues, and my Commerce Department will be most ready to undertake such discussions with them.

Before I leave you to your deliberations, let me add that if the members of any Delegation desire while they are here to see something of this great country, with its great resources of raw materials and its growing industries, my Government will be only too glad to provide the necessary facilities. This is not an occasion for salesmanship or advertisement, and there is serious work ahead of us all. But some of those present may, as the deliberations of the Conference proceed find it necessary to acquire at first hand some knowledge of India's capabilities ; and others who can spare the time may wish to carry away with them impressions not limited to the restricted circle of New Delhi.

I have said that there is serious work ahead of us all. The brunt of the war has so far fallen upon the United Kingdom, and our hearts go out in sympathy and admiration for the steadfast courage of its people, and of those who have been called upon to defend its shores.

If this Conference enables us to do more than we have yet done to protect the life of the Commonwealth, if within the next few months we are able to feel that our united efforts are enabling us to exert our undoubted strength to the full, then we shall not have laboured in vain.

I am satisfied that we have it in our power, working together, to make towards the common cause a contribution which is destined to be of the greatest value, and which may indeed prove to be decisive. But if results of the highest value are to flow from our joint endeavours, it is evident that our contribution must be timely as well as sufficient, for, in war, speed is near to victory.

As I have already indicated it is a new conception of our Commonwealth ideals which will be reflected in your deliberations here. There is something significant, even dramatic, in the thought of Great Britain bravely bearing the brunt of the enemy's attacks while her kinsmen

and associated peoples in the East are marshalling their forces for that ultimate victory which will bring an end to aggression and to that depravity of the soul which accompanies totalitarianism.

Those Empires of the past which have fallen have generally fallen from some inherent defect from within. That is not likely to be the fate of the comity of peoples represented by the British Commonwealth. The British elements within that comity have a common heritage to defend, and the sister peoples associated with it also derive their aspirations from the traditions we seek to uphold.

Together, we represent varying degrees of that political philosophy which permeates the whole, but the common denominator of all is faith in freedom and a belief in those things of the spirit which make peoples truly great. Thus what we seek to do here is not something that will redound only to our credit as individual units of a worldwide Empire ; rather should it reflect the firm expression of our living faith in the splendid heritage which we enjoy as members of an association of liberty-loving peoples.

The Prime Minister asks me to convey the following message from him to the Eastern Group Conference :—

'The Assembly of Representatives of all our Governments in the Eastern Hemisphere to plan more effective mutual integration of their resources is a remarkable event. In defence of our common freedom you are indeed building up a new world of armed strength to redress the balance of the old. We here will find fresh encouragement in your labours and look to the day when forces created by our efforts both East and West advance together for final overthrow of the powers of evil.' "

28. IRRIGATION RESEARCH IN INDIA

Nov. 4, 1940

The engineers who built and maintained India's irrigation works "are among the foremost benefactors of the Indian cultivator," says Lord Linlithgow, opening the eleventh meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation in Delhi on November 4, 1940. Text of speech :

"I am most grateful to you for having invited me once more to open your annual meeting. My interest in agriculture, and in the welfare of the Indian cultivator in particular, is keen and abiding, and it therefore gives me a very special sense of pleasure to have this opportunity of meeting and speaking to those on whom, in this country, the fruitfulness of the land so largely depends.

When I last had the privilege of addressing you four years ago, your Board was six years old. This month sees its tenth birthday, and the thriving youngster seems, if I may say so, to have maintained its early promise of healthy development and useful activity.

On your Board are represented engineers from all parts of India, in whose able hands rests the administration of one of the greatest systems of irrigation in the world. In the building and maintenance of that system you and the engineers who have gone

before you must be numbered among the foremost benefactors of the Indian cultivator. The return on the vast capital investment of Rs.154 crores, which has so far been spent on irrigation works in India, is not to be measured in terms of revenue, but in the more precious currency of human life and prosperity; and, thanks to the irrigation works which you have made, not only has the threat of famine been removed from wide areas of the country, but, year after year, the irrigated fields bear crops of which the value in a single year is not far short of the whole capital cost of the great barrages, canals and distributaries which harness the waters and guide them where and when they are required.

Since I last addressed you, a great deal of water has flowed under the bridges and down your canals. With the coming of provincial autonomy the responsibility for the maintenance of the great Indian irrigation systems has now devolved upon Provincial Governments. Although she is divided into many Provinces and States, it must never be forgotten that India is essentially one country. The experience gained in one part of India may prove of the greatest value in another, and I can imagine no field of engineering science in which it is more desirable that experience and knowledge should be pooled than in the study and practice of irrigation. It is therefore most important that there should be machinery to make the best use of this pooled experience and to serve as a clearing house of information and advice.

There are numerous problems which are constantly assuming practical importance, not only for you as engineers but for those responsible for the administration of vast agricultural tracts. To mention only a few of them, there is the question of reclaiming deteriorated land within the bounds of important water-yielding catchment areas; the control and equitable distribution of all the flow available; the economical use of flow and the storage of surplus flow. These are some of the problems which call for solution, and it is in this sphere that the Central Board of Irrigation serves so important a purpose at the present time.

I was impressed when I read your agenda by the amount of valuable work which has been achieved by the various Irrigation Research Institutes and Divisions, and particularly by those at Poona, Lahore, in Sind and in the United Provinces. Your research officers meet twice a year, and I understand that their deliberations are most carefully recorded and disseminated, not only in India but also throughout the British Empire. In happier times they are still more widely circulated throughout the world.

One of the great tragedies of war is the interruption which it entails in the spread of beneficial knowledge which, in times of peace, is stimulated by the international contacts of scientists and research workers of all countries, and the sharing of experience valuable to mankind which is encouraged by all civilised Governments. In this direction I am happy to know that the part which India has played is an important one and that testimony is frequently received

from distant parts of the world to the value of the work of your research organisations.

Among these I must refer particularly to the Central Irrigation and Hydro-Dynamic Research Station near Poona which has done first class work, and which I was greatly disappointed not to be able, for reasons outside my control, to visit when I was recently at Poona, though I was able to study its records and see photographs and plans of its models. I have also in mind the Irrigation Research Laboratory at Lahore working in conjunction with the river training and model station at Malikpur, which I had the satisfaction of visiting earlier in my Viceroyalty.

I am delighted to see from your Secretary's annual report that the Bureau of Information for Irrigation, attached to the Board and formed as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, over which I had the honour to preside, is proving to be of value. The Bureau's large and carefully selected library is a source of extensive and reliable information, of which I am glad to think that good use can be and is made by irrigation engineers in India.

I am particularly glad to observe that you have on your agenda a revised constitution designed to admit Indian States to membership of the Central Board of Irrigation. In some of the States, there are fine irrigation systems and the participation of some of the Chief Engineers of the States in your deliberations will, I feel sure, be a source of added strength to the Board.

Before I end I must touch upon another matter closely connected in modern times with irrigation. I refer to the development of hydro-electric systems. Your predecessors erected works by which the waters of the great rivers of India, instead of running waste to the sea, were collected and distributed to increase the fertility of the soil. Their great work you are now continuing ; but a feature of the present age is the harnessing of these great waters to perform at the same time another task.

Modern engineering has found in the great rivers of India not only a source of life-giving water but also of electrical power. This power is not only employed in industry but also assists the irrigation engineer by driving the pumps of his tube-wells. So closely related are the two uses of the same element, as a source of irrigation and as a source of power, that the time may not be far distant when some organisation may become necessary to secure the closest possible co-ordination between the two.

And now I will leave you to your deliberations, for the success of which you have my warmest good wishes. You, who are irrigation engineers, are privileged, to an extent which few of us are, to see materialise in your time and before your own eyes the fruit of your labours. You have the satisfaction of knowing that the work on which you are engaged is of incalculable benefit to millions of souls. It is a great service to the land in which you work and live, and a service of which India is justly proud."

29. UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENTS

None could have foreseen a year before, said Lord Linlithgow addressing the two Houses of the Central Legislature on November 20, 1940, that in the interval, the Empire would be bearing single-handed in the war a burden so heavy as it was bearing ; that of its Allies, Poland and France would have been conquered ; that Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium would have been added to the list of Nazis' victims ; that Italy would have made an equally unprovoked attack on gallant Greece. **Nov. 20. 1940**

But we would have been well-content had we been able to foresee, too, the valour and the success of the resistance offered. India's war effort had struck the imagination of the world. His Excellency's confident hope that India would live up to her highest traditions, had been fulfilled in the highest degree.

In view of the fact that the major political parties were not prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them by his announcement of August 8, 1940, which would have placed real power and real responsibility in Indian hands and would have made for the preservation of Indian unity and agreed constitutional settlement for the future, His Majesty's Government had decided that His Excellency would not be justified in proceeding with the enlargement of the Executive Council or the establishment of the War Advisory Council at the moment. But His Majesty's Government did not propose to withdraw the proposals and were prepared to give effect to them as soon as they were convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support was forthcoming. Text of the address :

" GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to meet you all again today.

The fourteen months that have elapsed since I last addressed you has been a period of great events, events of profound significance both in their immediate effect and in their ultimate reaction on the fortunes of civilisation and the history of the world. I warned you in September 1939 that we should be ill-advised if we thought that victory was easily achieved or that the course of the conflict would be free from reverses to our arms. I expressed at the same time complete and entire confidence in the outcome of the war. I emphasised how vitally important it was to India, the Empire, and to the world's civilisation that that outcome should be satisfactory, and I added that I felt certain beyond any question that the response which India would make in a conflict for ideals so dear to her would be one of the utmost value and importance, and one worthy of her traditions and her ancient name.

When I spoke to you we could none of us have foreseen that fourteen months later the Empire would be bearing single-handed a burden so heavy as it bears today ; that of its allies at the beginning of the war Poland and France would have been overrun and conquered ; that unprovoked Nazi aggression would have added to its victims Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium ; and that Italy would have made an equally unprovoked attack on the gallant people of Greece,

whose superb resistance commands our admiration today. But we should have been well content fourteen months ago had we, with any foreknowledge of the events which have happened, of the vastly increased burden placed upon the Empire, of the intensification of the most ruthless and unprincipled forms of attack on human life and human property by air and sea, of the singular disregard with which our enemies have continued to treat international obligations and treaties so long as they could derive a temporary advantage in doing so, had we, I say, been enabled to foresee, too, the valour and the success of the resistance offered. The work of the armed forces of the Crown by sea, by land, in the air, in every theatre of war ; whether they are drawn from India, from the Dominions and Colonies, or from the Home country, is such as to fill us with pride, with thankfulness, and with confidence for the future.

While the war lasts, its implications, its consequences, are such that it can never for a moment be out of our minds, that in everything that we do it must always be present to us. But I do not propose today, nor would this be the place, to enlarge in this speech on the detail of India's war effort, on the splendid work which Indian troops have done and are doing in the fighting line, or on the magnificent achievements of India, whether British India or the Indian States, in the provision of men, of money, of materials. No praise could be too warm for that achievement. It is one that has struck the imagination of the world, one for which the whole Empire is I know deeply grateful. And, substantial as that achievement already is, no pains are being spared to enable India to give still further effect, in all the ways I have mentioned, and with as little delay as may be, to the universal desire in this country to help the Allies and to see the triumph of the ideals for which they are fighting. The confident hope that I expressed a year ago that India would live up to her highest traditions have been fulfilled in the highest degree. You may be confident, Gentlemen, that in this vital matter I and my Government are fully alive to the importance not only of responding to India's desire to help, but of making her in the matter of defence as self-sufficient as possible ; and to the necessity of bringing her defensive equipment to the highest practicable pitch of adequacy and efficiency.

I said, Gentlemen, that the war must be continually in our thoughts and must be related to everything we do. Of the matters on which I shall touch in the remainder of my speech, the great bulk arise out of, or have some connection with, war activities or the war situation. There are one or two which I shall also mention, which are not so directly connected. But in their case the interest taken in them by the general public is sufficiently great to justify me in making a reference which I should not otherwise have made.

It was with much regret that I learned of the refusal of the Legislative Assembly to take into consideration the Finance Bill designed to facilitate the financing of India's war effort. It will, I think, be very generally appreciated that it would be impossible for me to acquiesce in the decision of the Assembly, and I have made a recommendation which will be placed before the Assembly this afternoon.

The work of the Department of Supply, which as you will remember was established shortly before the outbreak of the war, has been of great value in connection with India's war effort; and I should like to pay a tribute to the importance of this work, and to the work of the Ordnance factories (which were not until recently brought under the Department). I should like to associate with that tribute the business community in this country, whether Indian or British. At a time of considerable strain the Department has had the most valuable assistance from business firms, and I am glad to think that that friendly collaboration and patriotic assistance, so readily given, has led to some remarkable results. In the field of munitions, the Ordnance factories since the beginning of the war have been able to export to His Majesty's Government about one hundred million rounds of small arms ammunition and nearly four hundred thousand rounds of gun ammunition. On the stores side, Indian industry has made contributions on the largest scale to the war effort in the shape of engineering stores, jute goods, and many other manufactured products. I and my Government have been at pains to endeavour to secure that such changes should be made in the organisation of the Department as practical working showed likely to produce still better results. You may be confident that the lessons of experience will not be lost upon us, and that such further modification of the supply organisation as experience may dictate will be made without hesitation or delay. As I speak today, indeed, further changes in the Supply Department are in view, designed further to speed up work, and to ensure that the organisation as a whole is as compact, and as economically run, as is consistent with the magnitude and the character of the operations which fall to be performed.

It was with the greatest satisfaction that I recently welcomed to India the Members of the Eastern Group Conference, and the Mission from the Ministry of Supply headed by Sir Alexander Roger. Much as may have been done, much still remains to be done if India is to make her full contribution to the war effort; and the importance, whether to India or to the Empire as a whole, of the labours of the bodies to which I have just referred cannot be over-estimated. I should like to take the opportunity to express our deep gratitude to the non-official Advisers from India who have, with such public spirit, placed their services at the disposal of these bodies.

The need for harnessing India's economic resources to the task of making her a great centre for supplying the requirements of the military forces engaged in the war must take first place in our attention. But the Government of India are in no way blind to the pressing problems that war conditions have brought to Indian trade and industry. The dislocation of our export trade by the cutting off of nearly all European markets has been receiving the closest attention not only of my Government but of the Export Advisory Council, in the hope of dealing with the problem of surplus production and of reducing the size of any surplus by finding new outlets for our products and manufactures. This last attempt is being pursued in various ways, of which mention may be made, in particular, of the exploratory

mission of Dr. Gregory and Sir David Meek to America, and of the decision to increase the number of our Trade Commissioners in continents other than Europe, beginning with Australia. On the other side of the picture, the cutting off of many supplies which normally came from abroad has created many gaps, not only in India itself, but also in neighbouring countries, which Indian industry can hope to fill. I am glad to note that business and industrial interests in the country have not been slow to undertake enterprises designed to fill these gaps, while my Government have done their best to mobilise technical skill for their assistance by setting up the Board of Industrial and Scientific Research, which, through its numerous Sub-Committees and in collaboration with the Director of Research, has already produced valuable results.

The war has thrown a considerably increased burden upon the Provincial police forces, for, apart from their normal responsibility for law and order, they now are under obligation to undertake the safeguarding of places of vital importance to the internal defence of the country, such as power plants, major installations, and a number of protected places, in addition to affording an enhanced degree of protection to railways, and to watch and ward against sabotage. That burden has been materially eased by the establishment in all Provinces of the Civic Guard, and by the assistance given by that body in maintaining internal security. The response to the call for volunteers has been most encouraging. The Civic Guard has on many occasions already given practical proof of its usefulness and efficiency, and I am confident that it will, as its training progresses, play a most valuable and important part in India's war effort.

Though immediate danger to India from enemy air raids may not be apparent at the moment, he would be a wise man who could accurately foretell the development of the war, and we must be prepared for all eventualities. For this reason Air Raid Precautions in India have been initiated in a manner designed to form a solid basis on which further expansion can take place. Close liaison exists on this most important matter between the Central Government and the Provinces; and its expert advice, and substantial grants-in-aid, have been placed at their disposal. Good progress has been achieved in the past year, a progress made possible by the willing co-operation and voluntary effort of the people of India. There is however still much to be done, and I need not remind you, Gentlemen, of the value of the help which you can individually give to stimulate interest and co-operation on the part of the public and of local bodies in the areas from which you come.

Since the last meeting of the Legislature, compulsory national service has been introduced in India for European British subjects. For the smooth working of the machinery for enrolment I gratefully acknowledge the work of the National Service Advisory Committees—all of it voluntary; and the spirit of willing service has been evident on every hand. The European community in India have yielded to none in the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which they have shown in the common cause.

In the treatment of enemy aliens the policy of my Government has been guided by the desire not to disorganise the good work of missionary institutions, and to avoid imposing unnecessary hardship on innocent and harmless people. Although, as a result of events in Europe last summer, reinternment, or restriction to parole centres, was necessary for most of those who had earlier been released on the recommendation of a special Committee, the case of some priests and missionaries, of certain Jews of enemy nationality, and of other enemy aliens who can show that they have consistently and publicly opposed the Nazi or Fascist régime, is receiving special consideration.

The outbreak of war found many Indian students in the United Kingdom. Arrangements were promptly made through the High Commissioner in London to repatriate those desiring to return to India, and to maintain a register of those who preferred to continue their studies overseas. To both categories the High Commissioner was authorised to make financial advances where necessary. In the case of students returning to India the Universities have all, I am glad to say, agreed that the period already spent at a British University should be recognised for the purpose of enabling them to complete their degree courses in India. Special arrangements have also been made, under the general control of the Chief Justice of India, for holding Bar Examinations in this country.

Realising as I do the importance attached by the Muslim community to the performance of the sacred duty of pilgrimage to Mecca, I am happy that, in spite of wartime difficulties, it has been possible to arrange shipping facilities,—at Calcutta, this year, as well as at Bombay and Karachi,—and with the collaboration of His Majesty's Government, to prevent fares for the sea passage soaring beyond the reach of the classes from whom the pilgrims are mainly drawn. Indeed I understand that, thanks to a substantial reduction in charges announced by the Saudi Arabian Government, and to our being prepared, even in wartime, to permit the taking of gold sovereigns out of India by the pilgrims, to enable them to overcome exchange difficulties in the Hedjaz, the minimum cost to the pilgrim will be substantially lower than it would otherwise have been. In fact it will be lower this year than last.

The greatly increased burden which has fallen on the Government of India in connection with war preparation and war work has inevitably necessitated some expansion of staff and some additional expenditure. It would clearly be a shortsighted policy to reject expenditure which, on a broad view, would assist in the mobilization of the economic resources of the country and further the successful prosecution of the war. But I would take this opportunity to say that I am fully alive to the vital importance of economy in the civil administration, and of eliminating all forms of avoidable expenditure at a time when we have no choice but to spend large sums of money on defence and to augment the revenues of the Government by additional taxation.

In spite of their immediate pre-occupation with questions arising out of the war my Government continue to keep a vigilant watch on

the interests of Indians overseas. In the Union of South Africa, the Broome Commission, which was appointed in May last to enquire into alleged penetration of Indians into predominantly European areas in Natal and Transvaal, commenced its labours last month. The ban on the assisted emigration of unskilled labour to Malaya continues while questions of the wages of Indian labourers and of the status of the Indian community are still under discussion with the Malayan Governments. In regard to Burma, my Government are awaiting the results of Mr. Baxter's enquiry into the facts concerning Indian immigration into that country, and they are also watching with close attention the course of certain recent legislation which may directly affect the Indian community. An experienced officer was sent to Mauritius to ascertain recent developments in that Colony, so far as they affect Indians. I regret that the recent conversations between my Government and the representatives of the Government of Ceylon should not have had more satisfactory results.

In the field of foreign affairs, my Government's relations with Nepal continue to be most cordial. The friendly attitude of His Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal and of his Government is evident from His Highness' offer of two Brigades of Nepalese troops for the defence of India and from the generous donations of money made by His Highness and the members of his family. This attitude of ready and friendly co-operation is greatly appreciated by the Government of India.

His Holiness the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, and his incarnation was discovered towards the end of 1939. The installation ceremony of His Holiness the new Dalai Lama took place in February last. A mission headed by Mr. B. J. Gould, who is responsible for the Government of India's relations with our friendly neighbour, Tibet, was deputed to Lhasa to attend the ceremony on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India.

In October I and my Government had the pleasure of welcoming to India a Mission of Goodwill from Thailand. The Mission were the guests of the Government of India. During their visit they were able to make wide contacts and to cover much ground. On their return to Thailand they took with them precious Buddhist relics from Taxila presented to the Thai Government by the Government of India, who also arranged, at the request of the Mission, for earth from certain sacred Buddhist places in India to be placed on the aeroplane on which they returned to Bangkok. I am confident that the visit of this Mission will help to cement still further the bonds which already exist between India and Thailand.

From China we are glad to welcome Dr. Tai Chi Tao, an eminent Buddhist scholar, and Chairman of the China Public Service Commission.

His Excellency the Governor of the French Establishments in India issued an announcement in September last identifying French India with the cause of free France.

It gives me great satisfaction to be able to inform the House that the relations between India and Afghanistan continue to rest on a firm and friendly basis, and that there are signs that the bonds between our two countries are being drawn even closer in the cultural and commercial fields. I am glad, too, to say that in spite of the disturbance of men's minds by a period of war and intensive rumour the Frontier tribes have on the whole remained remarkably steady. The whole tribal belt from Chitral to the sea has been entirely quiet save in Waziristan, and there are many signs that the tribesmen are in sympathy with the democratic front. And in Waziristan, largely as the result of measures undertaken to control portions of tribal territory which had served as harbourage for the collection of gangs, a better spirit prevails, and the peace of the Districts of the North-West Frontier has recently been less disturbed than at any time during the last few years.

Since I last addressed you Labour in India has not been without its problems ; but I am happy to say that owing to the good sense of all concerned there has been no major dislocation of work since the war began, and I believe that Indian labour will continue its substantial contribution to the war effort. When disputes have arisen, the influence of my Government has always been thrown in favour of adjustment and conciliation rather than dictation. Complaints of inadequate wages in the circumstances of the war situation have always received careful and anxious consideration : an examination has already been made of the cost of living in the coalfields and an enquiry has also been instituted into the claim of railway labour for a dearness allowance.

My Government has taken steps to obtain skilled labour for those industries which are engaged on war production, ensuring at the same time that the interests of the artisan are safeguarded. Under the Technical Training Scheme, in the operation of which I have to acknowledge the willing assistance of Provincial Governments, we have planned not only to meet the immediate needs of the war effort, but by providing well-equipped and competently staffed institutions for training thousands of our young men to be skilled technicians, we have kept in view the needs, when peace is at last restored, of India's expanding industries.

Let me turn now to the constitutional field. I will not detain you with any detailed recapitulation of the discussions with political parties that have taken place since the outbreak of war. As you know I have had discussions at various times with all the leading political figures in this country, and with representatives of all major parties and communities ; and I can, I think, claim to have spared no effort to bring the parties together, and to reach an accommodation in the constitutional field which would be generally acceptable. It is a matter of profound disappointment to me that those endeavours should not have been more successful than they have been, and that the differences which have stood in the way of that constitutional advance which His Majesty's Government have been so anxious to see should still persist.

The latest and the most important of the endeavours made by His Majesty's Government is represented by the statement which I was authorised to issue three months ago.

On August the 8th I published a statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That statement reaffirmed the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament. In order to remove all doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal, it declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-government should—subject to due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her—be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. At the same time it emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in the framing of that scheme, and it made it clear that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. The method by which these two indispensably linked objects were to be secured was the setting up, on the basis of friendly agreement, of a body representative of all the principal elements in India's national life to devise the framework of the new constitution. This body was to be set up immediately after the war, but His Majesty's Government expressed their desire to welcome and promote in the meantime every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves that could prepare the way for agreement upon its form and procedure, as well as upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. Meanwhile, in order to associate Indian public opinion more closely with the Government of India at the Centre, and in the hope of promoting the unity of India by the creation of new bonds of understanding through practical and responsible co-operation in the task of governing India and directing the Indian war effort, I was authorised to invite Indian political leaders to join my Executive Council, as well as to establish a War Advisory Council containing representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

Outside India these proposals, both in their immediate and in their larger ultimate aspects, have been welcomed as liberal in conception, and as representing the best practical solution of existing differences. In India itself, too, they have met with the support of a large body of opinion : in their more immediate aspect, however, namely, the expansion of my Executive Council, I have not secured the response that was hoped from political leaders in India. The reasons for which they have been unable to accept the proposals of His Majesty's Government are conflicting, and, indeeed, in some ways mutually destructive. However that may be, the effect is that the

major political parties concerned are not in present circumstances prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them.

His Majesty's Government note this conclusion with sincere regret. The proposals in question would place real power and real responsibility in Indian hands. Their acceptance would afford the most hopeful contribution which Indian political leaders could make at this critical time towards the preservation of Indian unity, and towards an agreed constitutional settlement for the future. His Majesty's Government do not propose to withdraw them, and are still prepared to give effect to them as soon as they are convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support is forthcoming. But as that degree of support has evidently not yet manifested itself, His Majesty's Government have decided that I should not be justified in proceeding with the expansion of my Executive Council, or the establishment of the War Advisory Council, at the present moment.

Gentlemen, I do not wish to conceal from you the deep disappointment which I feel at this failure to secure, within the framework of the constitution, due expression of that ultimate and essential unity in which the hope and the labours of so many of us have been founded, and upon which must depend the future position and influence of India in time to come. Nevertheless I would counsel you not to be cast down by the immediate difficulties that beset the path of political advance in this great country. For, indeed, stress of war may well in the end come to strengthen and extend that very process of unification, and to hasten the achievement of those constitutional changes implicit in self-government with unity, which at this moment it appears to obstruct. Meanwhile in the circumstances of the world today the duty of my Government is clear. It is to press forward with all speed and in every field of activity those preparations upon which rests the capacity of this country to wage war with ever-growing strength and successfully to overcome the hazards that confront her. Many things may happen before I address you again ; but whatever the trials and anxieties that lie before us, however sharp the tests to which we may be subjected, we may have faith in the capacity of India to continue to play a glorious part in this righteous war against the forces of darkness and oppression. With all faith and confidence in your resolution and affection, I invite you and all men and women of goodwill throughout this land to support in this critical hour, with all strength of body and spirit, the cause of India and the Empire."

30. COAL MINING IN INDIA

Speech to the Indian Mining and Colliery Owners' Associations and the Indian Mining Federation at Dhanbad on December 14, 1940:— **Dec. 14, 1940**

" The coal mining industry of India dates back to the time of Warren Hastings. Permission to work coal mines in Bengal was first granted in 1774, and the important total of about 100 tons were delivered to Government in 1775. For various reasons this adventure did not succeed. No further attempt was made for nearly 40 years until 1814, when mining was commended in Raniganj.

The first systematic geological survey of the field was made during 1845-46 and a more detailed examination was made during 1858 and 1860, by which time some 50 collieries were already in existence. The development since 1868 has been rapid. In 1868 the output of the coal mines in India was only about 500,000 tons. The present output exceeds 28 million tons annually.

During these years, with the growth of public consciousness in such matters, there has also been a gradual but marked development in the measures taken for the safety of those who work underground. We who look back may at times feel that progress has been too slow, but it would be a mistake to think that what is clear to us was equally obvious to our predecessors. Moreover, as in so many other industries, the question has been complicated by the participation in the industry of those who can barely afford to make it pay. The problem of adapting the requirements of safety to the capacity of all owners to shoulder the financial burdens involved has not been easy. But in this work Government have been assisted by the concentration of the various interests concerned with coal mining into the three Associations whose guest I am privileged to be this afternoon. In your Chairman's speech a reference has been made to the measures undertaken for the improvement of safety in mining during my term of office. In such measures the co-operation which my Government has received from the industry, through your three Associations, has been of the utmost value. This collaboration has become closer with the growth of understanding between the industry and my Government ; and of this collaboration the most fruitful result in recent years has been the passage of the Coal Mines Safety Act of 1939. I think that in the years to come this Act will be regarded as one of the turning points in the development of the coal mining industry in India. The steps taken under it will ensure that coal miners are safe from many of the dangers to which they were previously exposed, while stowing as a safety measure will do much to conserve our available resources of coal. This morning I have seen some of the work which is being financed by the Coal Mines Stowing Board set up under this Act. In the course of the last few years the fires in the two areas which I have visited have resulted in several million tons of coal being burnt underground ; and they have also threatened the safety of a large number of coal mines in the district. The Mines Department, under the extended powers which they now possess, do what they can to see that in all mining operations due care is taken. But there is the further question of prevention, and it is that which the activities of the Stowing Board are designed to ensure. I am glad that the Board, while settling the necessary preliminaries before granting assistance towards stowing, have devoted their attention to dealing with these fires, and I am satisfied by my inspection this morning that the work of bringing them under control is being energetically and successfully pursued."

31. INITIATIVE IN CONSTITUTIONAL FIELD

In the constitutional field, the twelve months of 1940 were " a history of continual initiative on our side," but it was sad that no advantage was taken by the parties of the genuine, sincere and most generous offer made on behalf of His Majesty's Government on August 8, said Lord Linlithgow in reviewing the year's problems at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce on December 16, 1940 :— **Dec. 16, 1940**

" Gentlemen,—I am very glad to meet you again today. This is the fifth occasion on which I have had the honour of opening the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and I deeply appreciate your kindness in again inviting me to be present. I well know the importance of the body of opinion which you represent —an importance greater than ever when the business community is making so magnificent a contribution to the prosecution of the war.

I would like, Sir, before going further, to thank you for your reference to the providential escape of Their Majesties from harm. We know the unsparing and self-sacrificing work of the King and Queen, and the deep affection and real gratitude that they have earned for their inspiring leadership. That they should have escaped these deliberate and repeated attacks by the German Air Force is a source of the deepest relief to us all.

I would like, too to associate myself, if I may, with the tribute you have just paid to His Excellency Sir John Herbert, whom we are so glad to see here today, and to Lady Mary Herbert. I know how much the great war effort of Bengal owes to their unfailing and active help and interest, and how much the Governor's extensive touring in his first year of office has been appreciated.

Gentlemen, your Chairman in his speech this morning concentrated on matters affecting the war, and in my reply I propose to do the same. At a time when everything we do must be tested in its relation to the war and to its effective prosecution, we can well be proud of the help that India has given since the war began, whether in men (and I would pay a warm tribute to the response of the European community) ; in materials; in money ; or in gifts such as the magnificent gifts for the purchase of aircraft which have come from so many Provinces and States.

Much as we have done, there remains still more that we can do, and the obligation upon everyone of us is to see in what way we can still further contribute to the successful termination of the war and the attainment of the ideals for which it is being fought. The great organisations which you, Gentlemen, represent here today have spared no pains in their power over the last fifteen months to organise the war effort. I most deeply appreciate their help. I ask you, so far as it is in your power to do so, to increase it. I know that in making that appeal I shall get from you, and from those you represent, the answer that I want.

You, Sir, in the speech you have just made have reminded us of the great events that have taken place since we met here a year ago. The last twelve months have been a period of profound and significant change. None of us a year ago would have anticipated the collapse of France. Some of us may have anticipated the unprovoked German attack on the Scandinavian Countries, on the Low Countries, and the equally unprovoked and wanton attack made by Italy, with such little success we are glad to think today, on her friendly neighbour, Greece. But there has been a cynical opportunism about the policy of the Axis Powers in these wanton aggressions, in these renewed and aggravated breaches of international law, and of the sanctity of treaties, for which few of us would have been prepared. Equally, while a year ago we had much reason to anticipate the violence of the German attack on the United Kingdom, the intensification of submarine warfare and of the air offensive, we can today be proud and happy that that attack, pressed home in disregard of every accepted convention of international life, backed by all the military might of a country that for years had been preparing in secret to take advantage of the trust of others in treaties and agreements, should have produced so little effect. Great material damage has been done, though little of it, very little indeed, of any real military significance or importance. Immense hardship and suffering has been caused. Before us as I speak there lies the probability, indeed the certainty, of many months more of warfare of the sternest character before the looked-for decision can be reached. At home our people are bearing today not merely the brunt of the German attack, but the strain of the inclement season of the year. For all that, they are, as everyone of us knows, carrying their burden with a serenity, a confidence, a will to resist and to conquer, a readiness to respond to any call that may be made, that has never been surpassed in the whole history of our race. The toughness of spirit, the unity of purpose, of the mother country has commanded universal admiration and the inspiring and courageous telegram that you, Sir, have just read to us from the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire, and the contents of which we all so deeply appreciate, is eloquent testimony of the resolution with which she looks to the future.

How can we best help those who are carrying so heavy a weight, and who carry it to so large an extent on behalf of India? That is my constant thought. Ever since the war began, I have lost no opportunity of making plain to the Secretary of State and to His Majesty's Government the anxiety of India to make the fullest contribution that she can, in whatever way His Majesty's Government consider most helpful to themselves. Our wish to do so they well know, and, I can assure you, deeply appreciate. They are well aware of our readiness to raise men, as many men as His Majesty's Government desire and as we can equip—and I am glad to be able to tell you today that in those brilliantly conceived and executed operations which are taking place in North Africa, Indian troops have shown themselves worthy of their highest traditions, and

have borne themselves with the utmost distinction. His Majesty's Government are aware of the immensity of our natural resources, the extent of the assistance that we can give both immediately and in the future by the provision of raw materials and in manufactured materials. They know, too, how ready we are in this country to relieve them if they so desire, of some of the burden of the manufacture of warlike goods and stores, of aeroplanes and of organised supply to the whole of the Eastern area in such a way as to secure the results most conducive to victory. But clearly it must be for His Majesty's Government, who alone can see the whole picture in its true perspective, to set the pace, to decide for themselves how we can best help them, to let us know at any time whether they want men, whether they want particular stores, whether we can assist them by establishing factories and the like in this country, whether if so they can help us to set them up by the provision of the technicians, the machine tools, in certain cases the materials and machinery requisite for their operation. If there are ways in which greater use can be made by His Majesty's Government of the immense manufacturing potentialities of India, of her great resources in men and in material, India is ready and anxious to help, and His Majesty's Government well know it.

How best to assist industry in India engaged on war production has been under constant scrutiny. The National Service Ordinance recently enacted aims at securing that the skilled labour at present available in this country shall be put to the most efficient use, and the technical training scheme that we have devised (and which is estimated to cost very nearly a crore of rupees) is designed to increase in a year our supply of such labour by no fewer than 15,000 men. Those measures are designed not only to assist war effort. They have in view also the avoidance so far as possible of dislocation in those industries which in the main subserve civilian needs. Speaking to you, Gentlemen, with your great experience of industrial undertakings, I need not emphasize the difficulty of the problem of finding suitable instructors for so large a number. I hope that by far the greater proportion of the instructors we need will be found in India. But this country cannot meet the whole demand, and I appealed therefore to His Majesty's Government to help us by lending us a small number of men trained in the latest methods now in use in the United Kingdom, who could work with and assist instructors locally recruited. Though their own need is so very great, they readily agreed to comply with our request. They have indeed gone further. Thanks to the imagination and the generous help of Mr. Bevin, the present Minister of Labour, His Majesty's Government have given facilities for the training of a number of Indian artisans in factories in the United Kingdom. I have every hope that that experiment will prove a great success. I need not add how great will be the importance of the added experience which these men will bring back from their training in the United Kingdom both in the furtherance of our own technical training schemes to which the Bevin scheme is complementary, and to industry generally.

In your remarks, Sir, you touched on the contraction of export markets due to the war. The policy of economic warfare followed by the Government of India in the closest association with His Majesty's Government and the Dominions Government entails unquestionably hardships, and real hardships, on the commercial community, and the only justification for it can be, as I know that you will all of you agree with me, that that policy is calculated, and is designed, to expedite the termination of the war. But while pursuing that policy in collaboration and in the closest liaison with His Majesty's Government, my Government are concerned to mitigate as far as possible the injurious effects which it inevitably involves. It is with that object that the Export Advisory Council has been established. I am glad to hear that you should lend your approval to the constitution of that body, and that you should feel that it can play a useful part in the solution of the difficult problems that in present circumstances must constantly arise.

My Government have had under the closest investigation the possibility of alternative markets for products the export of which has been curtailed and for increasing India's exports to countries with which normal trade relations continue. A Trade Commissioner has been appointed for Australia and New Zealand, and that appointment will, I am sure, assist the growing trade between India and those two Dominions both now and in the post-war period. Consideration is being given to appointing Trade Commissioners elsewhere and to deputing Trade Missions to some of the countries in which there is a prospect of increased trade either in raw products or in finished goods. The impetus given by the necessities of the war has, I am glad to say, resulted also in the establishment of certain new industries, and I trust that we may look as time goes on for still further development in that direction. The researches of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, with which leading scientists and industrialists are associated, have, I understand, already borne good fruit, and the problem of utilising their results so as to enable industries to be started is under active examination. I do not propose today to go into the detail of this industrial development. But I might touch on one industry which, being a key industry, is expected to be in full production very soon. I refer to the aluminium industry. The raw material is available in large quantity in this country. The facilities that are now being afforded by my Government are calculated to result in early production of a commodity which is most necessary and important for purposes of the war, and which will be of equal value after the return of peace. And the aluminium industry is only one of many of which I trust that it will be possible to say the same.

I listened, Sir, with the closest attention to the references you have made to the work of the Department of Supply ; and I realise, and appreciate, the spirit in which they are offered. Dissatisfaction with the performance of the Department is to a very great extent based, I think I am right in saying, on the feeling that it has failed to plan forward and to put industry into continuous production.

I would suggest, however, that that dissatisfaction arises to some extent from the fact that the functions and powers of a supply organisation, in India, as in any other country, are limited in certain obvious ways. No Supply organisation decides or can decide for itself what articles are required for the Defence Forces. Its function is to meet the demands placed upon it. That, I am glad to say, we can claim that the Supply Department has at no stage or time failed to do. But many of the demands placed upon it come from abroad, many of them a stream of small orders, some of them demands very substantial indeed: and as you, I know, appreciate, it is not open to the Government of India to dictate terms to overseas authorities who desire to procure supplies (which we are only too glad to let them have to the maximum of our capacity) from this country. All that we can do is to urge as vigorously as we can on those authorities the need for a forward programme of production, and I am very glad indeed to let you know today that within the last few weeks our representations have borne fruit, and that the Department of Supply will now be able to go ahead on a firm and substantial forward programme for General Stores; while on the Munitions side, in the same way—munitions, incidentally, required in great part not for ourselves but for overseas—the indications are that we shall shortly be making a very heavy demand indeed on industry.

Could we have reached that position at an earlier stage in the war, nobody would have been more happy than I myself. But that is an issue closely linked up with the relations between the overseas authorities who require our goods and ourselves. Large orders, on the chance of their being taken up later, but for which no authority was prepared at the moment to pay would not, I am certain, have been welcome to any business man, and it goes without saying that progress on a massive scale can be made only when there is a purchaser who is prepared to pay, and to pay for forward production.

For all that, and despite the admitted limitations upon many of the activities of the Department of Supply its record since I addressed you a year ago stands scrutiny. As you, Sir, have just reminded us, the business done by the two purchasing organisations under the Department amounted in the first year of the war to no less a figure than 56½ crores. By the end of 1940 we shall have supplied for war purposes 280,000 tons of Indian timber, at a cost of just over Rs.273 lakhs; cotton canvas and cotton jute union canvas valued at Rs.270 lakhs; 12 million garments costing something like Rs.700 lakhs; and tents costing over Rs.500 lakhs. The labour force employed on the making of Army clothing (to take one item alone) has risen from 750 before the war to about 18,000 today. These are a few typical figures on the General Stores side. On the Munitions Production side, we have supplied to His Majesty's Government 120 million rounds of small arms ammunition, nearly 400,000 filled shells of various calibres, large quantities of explosives, and very large quantities of engineering stores. We are also procuring naval craft at an estimated cost of Rs.74 lakhs.

I have tried to deal, Gentlemen, (and I know the importance that you attach to this matter and that is my apology for devoting so much time to it) with the basic criticism that there has been a failure to plan and to make full use of industry. But there are, as I know from conversations with many of you, many complaints too about the working of the Supply organisation in matters of detail. Many of those complaints are justified, and the Government of India will do their best to remove their causes. We will welcome, too, at any time any suggestions for improvement and any specific complaints, and you may be certain that I shall see myself that any such suggestions and any such complaints are most fully and speedily investigated.

War Supply administration, whether in India or in the United Kingdom, is not easy administration. Those responsible for it, like those responsible for war industrial effort, have to deal with conditions which change very rapidly, and with problems which present themselves without warning and which demand immediate solution. I make no attempt to justify any failure there may have been to keep pace with the requirements of the situation. But I know how disturbing in many ways war inevitably proves to commerce and industry, and I can assure you that the difficulties are not confined to your side of that partnership on which all War Supply depends. I hope and believe that as both the Department and Industry settle down to the programme of forward production which we have throughout been so anxious to secure, the complaints I mention, the importance of which I fully accept, will disappear, and you may take it from me that no effort is being spared, as I speak today, to remove their causes.

Before I leave this vital question of War Supply, I should like with your permission to touch on one or two matters in the field of higher policy. Since I last addressed you, there have been two events of great importance, for both of which, I am glad to say, India can claim to have been very largely responsible. The first was the arrival in India of the Ministry of Supply Mission under Sir Alexander Roger, which will, I am confident, enable us to make much more rapid progress in the supply of munitions. The idea that such a mission should be sent to India originated in India many months ago, and, although I should have been only too happy had it come to fruition earlier than it did, and in the spring of this year, I am most grateful to the Ministry of Supply for their acceptance of it at a moment of critical importance.

The arrival of the Mission preceded by a few weeks the opening of the Eastern Group Conference. This Conference, as you know, was called to consider the war supply problems of the Empire countries east of Suez. The suggestion that it should be held was sent from India, again many months ago, and I feel that it was not held too soon. Some of you gentlemen here today took part in the Conference as Advisers, and I should like to pay a public tribute today to the great service done by the Advisers both in placing their experience at its disposal, and in collecting and arranging the available facts for final consideration by it. For reasons that you will appreciate I cannot today enter into the conclusions and the recommendations of the

conference. But it was generally agreed by the visiting Delegations, the Ministry of Supply Mission, and the Indian Delegation, that the Conference accomplished what it set out to do, and laid the foundation of a sound co-ordinated War Supply policy. The Government of India had no hesitation in accepting its recommendations, and I hope that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the other participating Governments will find it possible to do the same; and that we shall be able to settle down without delay to give effect to its proposals.

So much for India's contribution to the war in terms of labour and supply. I would add only that, while my Government is fully alive to the necessity of maintaining and developing industry in this country as part of the war effort, as a corollary, it is most desirable that the off-take of manpower for the fighting services should not deprive industry of personnel vital to its existence. While we are pressing forward with our schemes of expansion of the armed forces of the Crown, and development of supply, the requirements of Indian industry in manpower are never absent from the mind of my Government.

Let me turn now to the political field. As I speak to you today we are faced in this country, to my deep regret, with a movement, supported by the Congress Party, which is open to grave misunderstanding outside. Leaders of the Congress Party have publicly stated that they do not desire to embarrass His Majesty's Government in the conduct of the war. But they have claimed, at the same time, in the interest of the creed of non-violence, the right to urge the country not to help Britain's war effort with men or with money. You will have seen, Gentlemen, the correspondence that passed between Mr. Gandhi and myself last September in that connection. I made it clear that we in this country had no desire to suppress legitimate criticism within legitimate limits, and I referred to the limits set by His Majesty's Government in the case of conscientious objectors at home. Broadly, the effect is that while a conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of trying to persuade others, whether soldiers nor munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort. But Mr. Gandhi was unable to accept this as adequate in the conditions of India, and when I asked him if he desired to be in a position to dissuade labour from working on war equipment he told me, as you will remember, that while he would not preach to workers at the actual works, in the endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment he thought it essential that Congressmen and non-Congressmen should be free to deliver addresses and otherwise to call on people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war effort in any way that would involve India's participation in bloodshed.

That is clearly not a position that we can acquiesce in. I have every respect for genuine conscientious objection; and none of us in the world today can wish to see violence supreme, or wantonly resort to arms. But to arms taken up armed defence is the only answer,

deep and sincere as is the hatred of all of us for war. And we have a duty to this country to see that India's war effort, which, I am certain, has India behind it, is not in any way impeded; that not a single sepoy is deprived of the arms and ammunition that he needs, whether by speeches or by more active forms of opposition. I regret all the more that we should have to deal with a movement of this character at this moment, since I do not believe that it corresponds in the very least degree to the true feelings of this country. India, I am convinced, remains as united in its detestation of Hitlerism, and of all that it stands for as it has been from the very beginning of the war, a detestation to which the utterances of political leaders of every party have borne eloquent witness.

Let me say a word now about the constitutional position. When I spoke to you a year ago I was fresh from my discussions with the principal political leaders. To my great satisfaction I had been able to bring Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi together for the first time for many years. I knew, too, the minds of the leaders of political India on the constitutional position. But I had to admit that the efforts which His Majesty's Government and I on their behalf had made, were so far abortive; and that the problem which confronted us and confronted India remained unsolved.

I was for all that full of hope. I knew the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to help to solve that problem. I trusted that the stress of war, the growing appreciation of the attitude of His Majesty's Government, and of their sincerity, would produce its effect. Again I have to confess to failure and to disappointment. I will not weary you with the history of the last twelve months in the constitutional field. You know it only too well. It has been a history of continual initiative on our side. Everything possible has been done to remove misunderstandings, to set out in detail the proposals of His Majesty's Government, to bring home to Indian political leaders, and parties, and communities, that His Majesty's Government were only too anxious for their collaboration in the Central Government in the prosecution of the war, only too anxious to transfer real power and real authority to them. I will say nothing of the numerous discussions I had throughout the year, time after time, with one prominent leader after another. But I will claim that the final proposals of His Majesty's Government, embodied in the statement I made on their behalf on 8th August, represented a genuine, a sincere and a most generous offer, and it seems to me a sad thing that at a time such as this no advantage should have been taken of it by those for whom it was designed.

Suggestions have been made that we may have not made our intentions clear. For that suggestion, Gentlemen, I can see no sufficient basis. Our intentions—our proposals—are crystal clear. No form of words could have made them clearer. They have been set out in my statement of 8th August. They have been debated in Parliament. The Secretary of State, on various occasions, in speeches of the utmost lucidity, has analysed and described them. I cannot believe that they have not been accepted because those to whom they were made did not understand their meaning.

Let me, at the risk of weighing unduly on you, again remind you of their terms. They reaffirmed first as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth.

To remove all doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal, they declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-Government should, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her, be primarily that of Indians themselves ; and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic, and political structure of Indian life.

They repeated (and I can assure you from the conversations I have had with political leaders that this is a point of great importance) the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in framing that scheme.

They made it clear, too, that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. (You, Gentlemen, need no emphasis from me as to the importance and the necessity of that guarantee. It would be foolish to imagine for a moment that any solution of the problems of India can be found by ignoring or burking the problem of the minorities. They are one of the most important things in this country today.)

To devise the framework of the new constitution immediately after the war, His Majesty's Government were ready to see a body set up representative of all the principal elements in India's national life. (We cannot clearly in the midst of a struggle for existence get down to the niceties of constitutional discussion : nor can we, with the pressing claims of the war on our attention hope to do justice to the intricate and complicated problems that the framing of a constitution involves.)

Pending the conclusion of the war, His Majesty's Government repeated that they were only too anxious to welcome and promote every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves to prepare the way for agreement about the form and procedure of this post-war body ; and about the principles and the outlines of the constitution.

And, in the meantime, they proposed to expand at once the Government of India by the inclusion in it of Indian political leaders ; and to set up a War Advisory Council which should contain representatives of the Indian States as well as of British India.

Those were the proposals of His Majesty's Government. Those proposals, I venture to repeat, were as generous in character as they were sincere in conception. It has been a profound disappointment to me that they should have had no better reception. As, Gentlemen, you are all aware, there was no sufficient degree of general support

from the major political parties in this country for those proposals to justify His Majesty's Government in going ahead with them at this stage. One important political party indeed rejected them out of hand, and with no indication of close consideration. Familiar as you are with the intricate problems of India, with the difficulties we all of us have to face, you will, I am certain, share my view that if there is to be any prospect of harmonious working in this country, there must be a sufficient degree of general agreement behind any constitutional changes that may be made, and a sufficient degree of general support for those changes. The reasons for which the great political parties rejected at this stage the proposals I have just mentioned were, as I told the Central Legislature recently, conflicting, and indeed in some ways mutually destructive. But the fact remains ; and it is that we cannot at this stage find that degree of agreement in this country, that degree of support for the scheme of constitutional advance, which would justify His Majesty's Government in proceeding immediately on the lines I have just indicated.

Let me, however, again make it clear first, that His Majesty's Government and I remain as anxious as ever to see a solution. Throughout the whole of this constitutional discussion, the initiative has come from His Majesty's Government and from myself. At no stage have any constructive proposals capable of realisation in the conditions of India and in the conditions of the modern world been put forward to us. We have had to do our best, and we have done our best, to find the largest possible measure of common agreement, and to endeavour to persuade the parties concerned to accept that largest measure of common agreement, even if it meant some abatement of their own particular claims as against other parties in the interests of India. We have not been successful. But His Majesty's Government and I are satisfied that the proposals put forward by me on their behalf on 8th August last remain the best solution of the problems of this country that can be found at this time. We are satisfied that, given those internal factors of which no wise statesman can fail to take full account, they represent the most extensive measure that can be contemplated, and in those circumstances His Majesty's Government keep those proposals open. They hope that as time passes, as there is more opportunity for reflection on the real power and the real authority that their acceptance would transfer to Indian hands, there will be a greater readiness on the part of the principal political parties in this country to take advantage of them.

Circumstances here, the background, the factors in the situation, are not the same as they are in the United Kingdom. It would be foolish to refuse to recognise that fact, to refuse to recognise that some adjustments of a particular character may be called for, in dealing with the constitutional problems of India, in order to reconcile the conflict of view, the difference of culture, of tradition and of temperament, of the great communities, and the great political parties. And I would add this. It is but natural in times such as these, when, in the different circumstances of English democracy, the affairs of the State are being guided at this critical moment by a national government, that the idea

of a national government for India should have received the prominence which it has in this country. With that idea we all of us sympathise. But, Gentlemen, and I speak with a full knowledge of the background and of the difficulties, I am satisfied that the proposals of 8th August, the opportunity they gave for the participation in the Central Government of India and in the conduct of the war of the representatives of the leading political parties, represent more closely than any other scheme that can at this time be devised a national government for India—a government, associated through the War Advisory Council with the Indian States, that will contain within itself the representatives of those great parties and communities, that will exercise full and real influence on the conduct of the war, leaving to the post-war discussions which I have already mentioned the final settlement of those intricate questions, whether between the communities here, or between British India and the Indian States, or between India and His Majesty's Government, which have got to be solved before the problem of India's future can be finally settled.

Gentlemen, speaking to you today, I ask for your continued support, and for that help that you, with your innumerable contacts in this country, are in so good a position to lend, to assist India in the solution of these problems. I repeat that the initiative has throughout come from His Majesty's Government and from myself on their behalf. The fact that we have so far failed to reconcile those conflicting aims and objectives of the principal parties and interests in this country which have got to be reconciled before progress is possible does not deterus. Our objective remains to lead India to the proclaimed goal of Dominion Status, and that as early as may be. There is nothing more that we can do than we have done. We are entitled to claim, we do claim, and I claim today, that it is for the Indian parties themselves, for those communities, interests and political leaders concerned, to get together and to see what they can do by way of reaching an accommodation with one another against the background which I have just mentioned. It has not been the fault of His Majesty's Government that matters are not further forward today. They have done everything in their power. For the suggestions that are being made from various quarters that Indian political leaders and Indian political parties should at this point come together and seek to reach agreement among themselves His Majesty's Government have nothing but the fullest goodwill and the fullest sympathy.

Gentlemen, I will not keep you longer. These are indeed stirring and anxious times. Your Chairman referred in most friendly and flattering terms to the extension of my Viceroyalty. A further period in this great office, the burdens of which I can tell you from experience over a period so eventful as that for which I have held it, are crushing in their weight, is no light thing for any man to contemplate. But if, in that further period by which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend my term, I can continue to assist in however small a degree in the effective and active prosecution of the war, in India's contribution to war effort, if I can give India a lead, a direction, which will enable her more fully to express the anxiety of her peoples and

herself to give that help which it is so abundantly clear that they are passionately anxious to give to the achievement of our ideals, then indeed I shall be a happy and a fortunate man.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your friendly welcome today, for those words of encouragement which your Chairman has spoken, and, above all, for the assurance which he has given me of your continued support and understanding. There is nothing, I can assure you, that I more deeply value, and nothing that could be of greater assistance to a Viceroy so shortly about to enter on the sixth and the final year of this great office."

32. VOLUNTARY CIVIC SERVICES IN BENGAL

Dec. 17, 1940 *Address to Civic Guards, A.R.P. organisations and other voluntary Civic Services at Calcutta on December 17, 1940 :*

"Your Excellency, Sir Nazimuddin, Officers, Men and Women of the Calcutta Civic Guard and A.R.P. Organisations, I am very glad and proud to have met you and to have seen you on parade today. What I have seen fills me with encouragement, not only because I know that this great city will have to defend her against whatever dangers may threaten, from outside or from within, a keen, well-trained and disciplined body of citizens, but because I see before me also an admirable display of civic co-operation which befits the second city of the Empire and augurs well for the future of India.

You have voluntarily given up your leisure hours and your comfort to fit yourselves for the duty of protecting your fellow citizens, and they, I feel sure, recognise the unselfishness and the public spirit which have prompted you to undertake this task, and honour you for it.

The A.R.P. organisation has been under training for over a year and the Civic Guard for about six months.

The degree of progress which has been achieved by both is remarkable, and this, I know, is largely due to those instructors from Bengali military formations who have readily given their time and service to assist in the training.

The manner in which recruitment and training of the Civic Guard are proceeding in the districts of Bengal no less than in Calcutta itself, is most encouraging, and the carefully planned organisation, covering the whole of this city and providing the officers with regular opportunities for consultation and exchange of ideas, fulfils admirably the purpose for which these bodies have been raised all over India. I am delighted to know that much of this success is due to the lively interest which my friend Lord Sinha has taken in every phase of Civic Guard development.

It is also of particular interest to me to observe the extent of co-operation which exists between the Civic Guard and the Police. No Police force can function properly, even in normal times, without the whole-hearted sympathy and support of the public at large,

whose safety and the safety of whose property it is their main duty to protect. The increased co-operation which the present emergency has brought about between the Police and voluntary civic bodies, representative of the public, is a development of immense importance, and the spirit which it has engendered will, I am sure, be of lasting mutual benefit. It has already shown practical evidence of its value in the fine work done by the Civic Guard, acting with the Police, in keeping the peace during the recent strike of conservancy workers, and in controlling holiday crowds, and, with their colleagues of the A.R.P. during the recent and most successful trial black-out in this city.

You A.R.P. workers deserve a special tribute, since in Calcutta you led the way in voluntary war work, and in spite of initial delays in the supply of equipment, you have let nothing discourage you in pursuing steadily and unobtrusively your arduous and vitally important training. There are now five thousand of you, men and women, working in close co-operation with your colleagues of the Civic Guard, the Police and the Fire Services. You are building up a splendid organisation of rescue and demolition squads and on the medical side an ample provision of first-aid and hospital services.

We must all hope that the test of your proficiency after all these months of training will never come. But if it should come, I am confident, and the City of Calcutta is confident, that you are fully prepared to meet it and to grapple with it as bravely and as competently as your fellow workers in London and the British Isles, whose fortitude and heroism is inscribing day by day some of the most glorious annals of this war.

This parade typifies to my mind the determination of all loyal citizens of India to see this business through to the end—to the end of the forces of evil and destruction which are threatening the world. For, make no mistake, the tyranny against which you are prepared to defend your city threatens the lives and homes of peaceful citizens, not here nor in distant parts of the world only, but all over the world; and all those everywhere who value the precious gifts of peace and liberty and civilization must be prepared, as you are, to fight for them and defend them, whether the danger to them seems near or far. And when the victory is ours and the danger is at an end, India and the whole civilized world will thank you for the courage and steadfastness with which you have been prepared to bear your share in this momentous struggle.

Meanwhile, stand firm and persevere, and God be with you all."

33. FATHERS OF PRINCES' CHAMBER

Mar. 17, 1941

Speech in unveiling the busts of their late Highnesses of Gwalior, Patiala, and Nawanagar in the Chamber of Princes Hall on March 17, 1941.

" Your Highnesses,—I am grateful to His Highness the Chancellor and the Members and Representative Members of this Chamber for inviting me to preside over today's ceremony and unveil the busts of Their late Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Nawanagar and Patiala. Your Chancellor has paid a moving tribute to the memory of these three Princes, all of whom had, by varying and outstanding qualities and achievements, become familiar and popular figures in the India of their day. Nor were their fame and reputation confined to this country. The name of His late Highness of Nawanagar is still a household word in England by reason of his unique proficiency in England's national game. In that, as well as in other more serious spheres of public life, the late Maharaja of Patiala, too, won great distinction, while His Highness Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia's personality was such as to inspire confidence and affection in all with whom he came in contact—from the lowliest of his subjects to the King-Emperor himself.

But we are today more concerned with the services they rendered to this Chamber with which all of them were so closely associated from those earliest days when, what was then known as the " Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs " first began to meet there in Delhi.

Of that aspect of their careers His Highness the Chancellor has spoken in sincere and eloquent terms, and I gladly associate myself with all that he has said. In speaking of the late Maharaja Jam Saheb, His Highness' words were very naturally charged with family affection, and the thought will no doubt have occurred to many of us, that nothing would have afforded greater pride and pleasure to His late Highness than to have known that the great office of Chancellor of this unique Assembly, which he himself had held with such industry, and distinction, would one day be so worthily filled by his successor on the *gaddi* of Nawanagar.

It will not be a conventional compliment or an undue straining of language if I say that this ceremony for which we have assembled today is, in respect of all the three Princes whose memory it is designed to perpetuate in this place, permeated by a certain filial sentiment, inasmuch as all of them had just claims to be described as fathers of the Chamber of Princes, for they had played no inconsiderable part in guiding the Chamber through its early days. For the vision which enabled them, as His Highness has reminded us, to appreciate its possibilities in the future, and to a great extent to carry them into actual effect, we may well be thankful, and it is for Your Highnesses of the present generation to see to it that the ideals and objects for which the Chamber was founded, and for which those whom we commemorate strove so loyally and well, are resolutely pursued, in the best interests of vour Order as well as of India as a whole.

I trust that the marble effigies, which I am privileged now to unveil, will keep alive, for many generations to come, the great reputations which are so fresh in the memories of all of us present here today."

34. MADRAS LEADS

Extract from speech to the Provincial War Committee, Madras, on July 31, 1941 :— **July 31, 1941**

" Satisfactory though the solid achievements of the last year have been, I see no reason to suppose that the year 1942 will not be, like its predecessors, a year of blood and toil, and tears and sweat. There is no excuse for slackening in our efforts, and Madras, I know, has not slackened hers. You lead the Provinces of India in the voluntary contributions which you have made for war purposes. These have already reached the splendid total of one million pounds sterling, and three of your districts East Godavari, Madura and Guntur—have topped•(or nearly reached) the ten lakhs mark.

I am glad to be able to tell you that, in return for a contribution received from you last year, the first operational aircraft to be assembled in India for the Indian Air Force, will be named MADRAS. Already, three Fighter Squadrons in the Royal Air Force—one of Hurricanes, one Spitfires and one of Defiants—for which you have subscribed, carry the name of Madras into battle, and that is a record to be proud of. The Madras Defiant Squadron, I was delighted to see, has the highest bag of enemy planes—37 in a day—of any Fighter Command Squadron.

I was privileged, the other day, to convey to the Corporation of Madras the thanks of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies for a contribution towards the defences of Singapore. That was a valuable and imaginative gift, and it is a right instinct on the part of Madras to look to the soundness of the Eastern bastion of our defences. On the safety of Malaya depends ultimately, to a great extent, the safety of Madras.

This Presidency has subscribed two crores and eighty-one lakhs of rupees to Defence Loans out of a total, for the whole of India, of 69 crores of rupees. I make no secret of the fact that even the all-India total falls far short of what is required. The Government of India needs at least Rs. 100 crores a year—2 crores a week—from Defence Loans to meet expenditure on Indian war measures and the proper financing of war supplies operations in India. The cost of war supplies made by India to His Majesty's Government and to Allied Governments is repaid in sterling, but the actual payments to suppliers in India have to be made in rupees, for which a large volume of loan money is required—larger than we are getting at present. I hope that you, gentlemen, whose efforts have been so remarkably successful in the raising of war gifts, will not neglect this most important matter of encouraging subscriptions to war loans.

In the actual production of war supplies Madras has played a substantial part. Your Railway Workshops are engaged in the production of munitions; and, to name a few other essential items, textiles, leather goods, timber, chemicals and motor chassis are being produced in valuable quantities from this Presidency.

As for recruitment, I was able last year to congratulate you on the fact that, in the first nine months of the war, recruitment to the Army from Madras had been over ten times as great as the normal annual recruitment from the Presidency. Since then great strides have been made, and I soon hope to see a monthly recruitment rate of 5,000 reached in this Presidency—which, as I do not need to tell you, produces soldiers of a very special type and quality—largely as sappers, pioneers and mechanics—who have already rendered most valuable service in this war.

One of the four new Regiments recently approved by His Majesty is the Madras Regiment. It is intended that the battalions of this Regiment should be formed by regularizing existing Territorial Battalions, but this can only be done successfully if volunteers in adequate numbers come forward from the Territorial units to form the nucleus of the regular battalions. So far, I am sorry to say, the number of volunteers has not been as many as one might expect. I know how eager Madras was that this Regiment should be raised : I look to you, gentlemen, to see, now that it has been raised, that it is kept fully up to strength.

Hardly less important in the field of war effort than the production of money, supplies and recruits, are those humanitarian activities which lighten, for soldiers and civilians alike, the suffering caused by war. In this, Your Excellency's Joint War Charities Committee has not been backward. In the first year of the war you raised money which supplied ambulances for the British Red Cross and in the Middle East. Later you were able to turn your attention to the requirements of the Indian Expeditionary Force in Malaya, and Madras became the main port in India for the despatch of stores to the Far East—a role which is not likely to be diminished in importance. Your 200 work-parties produced nearly 300,000 articles during 1940 as well as contributing their share to the Central Red Cross Depot in Delhi : this year you have further undertaken a Red Cross postal message scheme, which has been of special value to your French neighbours in Pondicherry, and you have opened a War Stores Depot which has admirably discharged a heavy burden of work throughout the trying summer months.

In addition to these, your Hospitality Committee, with which Clubs, charitable organizations and private individuals are co-operating, has been most zealous in the entertainment of troops stationed in or passing through Madras.

In the collection of war funds in the Presidency you have concentrated on aeroplanes, and to a lesser degree on ambulances. I do not need to remind you that, the comfort and well-being of the men who are fighting for us are also objects deserving the utmost generosity.

I therefore commend to your attention, ladies and gentlemen, the need for mobile canteens and amenities for troops generally, but the supply of these should be co-ordinated through the Committee of the Central Amenities for Troops Fund.

The outstanding success of the Madras Governor's War Fund is, if I may say so, not only a tribute to the energy and the powers of persuasion of Your Excellency, and of many other gentlemen here this evening, but also an illustration of the value of planned and concentrated propaganda. When last year I congratulated your Propaganda Committee on the work which they had already done, I said that iteration and reiteration was the secret of success in that field. It is work of the greatest importance, and there is no limit to its usefulness. What you are already doing, with the help of the Madras Government through hundreds of reading circles and with your 12 propaganda vans, fitted with loudspeakers and cinema projectors, is most valuable; keep it up, and let there be more and more of it.

I said earlier in my speech that the war had come perceptibly nearer to India, and not from one direction only. The significance of this for Madras, particularly in regard to Air Raid Precautions, will not have escaped you. I was studying the other day, with a great deal of interest, the arrangements which have been made in this city and in the other towns of the Presidency where air-raid precautions are considered to be necessary. However complete the preparations by Government, or by the Corporation or the Defence Services may be, the success of air-raid precautions depends in a very large degree on the willing co-operation of every private citizen. For the safety of your city and of your neighbours, and of yourselves and your families, I cannot too strongly urge you—every man and woman—to give to the utmost the assistance which is required of you. I can hardly do better than repeat what, last year, the Minister of Home Security, Sir John Anderson, said to the people of Britain about this :—

> 'In this war every man and woman is in the front line. A soldier at the front who neglects the proper protection of his trench does more than endanger his own life; he weakens a portion of his country's defences and betrays the trust which has been placed in him. You, too, will have betrayed your trust if you neglect to take the steps which it is your responsibility to take for the protection of yourself and your family.'

When I was last in Madras, your Civic Guards were a newly raised body. This year they are veterans with more than a year's training and experience behind them. Their importance, as a means of enabling the ordinary citizen to play his part in the defence of the State, and the maintenance of public safety and of public order, remains as great as ever. His Excellency the Governor has seen them at work in nearly every district and tells me how keen they are and what excellent work they are doing—and that is most reassuring news."

35. CIVIC GUARDS WIN SPURS

Aug. 14, 1941

Extract from Lord Linlithgow's address to Bombay Civic Guards on August 14, 1941 :

" To few civic bodies, raised for the purpose of defending law and order, can it have been given so soon and so creditably to win their spurs. I have read with admiration of the magnificent part which the Bombay Civic Guards—the motorised unit, and many others whom I see before me today,—as well as your colleagues in Ahmedabad—played in maintaining order and helping the police during the recent communal disturbances. That was a fine example to all other members of the Civic Guards throughout India.

There is no doubt that the best recruiting sergeant you can have is the reputation you have already earned so well : and I can say with every assurance that the more there are of men like you, the better it will be for India. I am proud to have seen you on parade today, and greatly encouraged to feel that the steadiness, the smartness and the workmanlike bearing of the men I see before me is typical also of the other thousands of the Civic Guard in the districts of Bombay, whom I am not privileged to see today. Your movement is steadily gaining strength throughout the Province, and there is a growing realization of its value in the public mind. From the rapid progress you have already made, I can say without hesitation that the future of the Civic Guard here and elsewhere in India is full of promise."

36. BOMBAY A.R.P.

Aug. 14, 1941

Extracts from address to Bombay Air Raid Precaution volunteers on August 14, 1941 :

" Officers and men and women of the Bombay A.R.P. Services,—You are the citizen defenders of your homes and of your neighbours' homes, the protectors of innocent men, women and children from that most devastating form of modern warfare—bombing attacks from the air.

Do not for one moment relax your efforts ; do not give way to that most insidious of your enemies—more treacherous than any fifth-columnist—I mean, Boredom. Nine-tenths of the business of waging war is intensely boring. There are long periods of waiting and watching and preparing for something to happen, which may never happen at all, and then creeps in the fatal temptation of wondering whether one is doing any good by all this vigilance and preparation ; whether all this expenditure of time and energy and money is worth while. At all costs put that temptation behind you. The moment for which you are preparing may never come, it is true ; but no one can tell—it may come when you are least expecting it; and if it comes when you are unprepared, then you are beaten before you have started to fight.

The war is a long way from being over yet. All the patience and skill, all the courage and endurance, of you and thousands more like

you, will be required for many months to come, to ensure that our defences are strong and our spirit unbreakable. Even when the war begins to turn in our favour, we shall have a long and rough passage before us—for we have got to make a good job of it this time. We are just getting our teeth into the Nazi now ; but he is a powerful animal, and desperate ; he can do a lot of damage yet, and he may still swing us off our feet once or twice, before we get to his throat and bring him down. But let us hold on, and assuredly we shall bring him down—this time for ever. When that day comes, you, officers, men and women of the Bombay A.R.P. services, will have your reward. You will know that you have played a very real part in the winning of the war : you will have manned your trench and kept your part of the line of battle intact. You will deserve well of your fellow citizens, and of India, and I hope, on that day, you will be the first to break your own black-out regulations, and light in the sky an enormous 'V' for Victory, which will blaze half-way across the Indian Ocean."

37. "INDIA IS AWAKE"

Sept. 3, 1941

Among us there are those who like to reap the harvest of victory without putting their hands to the plough, others who are not ashamed to seek to divide the people, to weaken the war effort and to destroy confidence though the nation stands in grave peril. "But that is not the spirit of India," says Lord Linlithgow broadcasting on September 3, 1941.

" India is awake ; she is mighty and formidable; and she shall, if you determine, be mightier yet."

Text of the broadcast :—

" My Friends,—This night, two years ago, I spoke to you in a solemn hour. I spoke, then, of my confidence that, at a time when all that is most precious in the civilisation of the modern world stands in peril, India would play a part worthy of her place among the nations of the world.

I was not wrong. War, like the bursting of a great dam, released the waters of destruction on the world. The noise of these waters was far off when India set herself to meet the storm ; to man her own defences as well as the outer bastions of her fortress. In two years, the tide of war has rolled much nearer to our shores—and not from one direction only. But India stands firm. Her young men have come forward to answer the call for service on the sea, on the land and in the air : her factories, her mills, her dockyards are working night and day to produce the munitions and equipment, the ships and vehicles of war : her Princes and people have poured out their wealth in free will offerings to meet the cost of war : her citizen defenders have enrolled themselves in tens of thousands to protect their homes and to secure the public peace : and the world will not forget how, after the darkest hour of the Allied cause, Indian soldiers went into battle on a December morning in the Western Desert, as the spearhead of a great attack, and won at Sidi Barrani our first resounding victory.

Today, India is the focus-point of the nations and territories of the Eastern Group. In Egypt, in the Sudan—whose people have shown their gratitude by a splendid gift—in Eritrea and Ethiopia; in Iraq, Syria and Iran, the armies of India have sought and found glory on many fields. They have dealt faithfully with the Italian Empire, which lies in ruins in East Africa; they have forged new links in the comradeship of arms and have protected great neighbouring nations against the imminent or actual threat of the invader.

India is awake; she is mighty and formidable; and she shall, if you so determine, be mightier yet.

Men and women of India, be proud of your sons and brothers. Not only of your soldiers, sailors and airmen, but of all those others too, who are playing their part, not always spectacular, but none the less valuable, in this total war. The merchant-seamen of India; the men in the factories and in the fields; the civil servants and the police; the Civic Guards and the A.R.P. services; the business men who cheerfully undertake, each of them, three or four men's work in the interests of national service; the women workers and many others who give of their best whether in money or service—these too are playing their part in this mortal struggle. They have not been privileged to stand in the front-line of battle; to their lot has fallen the less exciting but necessary work of war behind the lines; but on their patience and perseverance and on their stout-hearted confidence depends, no less than on our armed forces, the ultimate triumph of our efforts to rid the world of the obscene pestilence of Nazism.

There are those amongst us who would like to reap the harvest of victory without having put their hands to the plough. Others there are who for one reason or another are not ashamed, though the nation stands in grave peril, to seek to divide the people, to weaken the war effort, to destroy confidence. But that is not the spirit of India.

Do not, I beg of you, let this insidious fifth-column eat, like dry rot, into the fabric of your determination. Be united, stand firm and persevere. It was in the spirit of co-operation that our soldiers scaled the heights of Keren and Amba Alagi, and stormed Damascus; it was in that spirit that they broke through the iron ring at El Mechili, and are continuing the heroic resistance at Tobruk. When the tremendous conflict which we are witnessing passes into history, it will be deeds such as these that will be inscribed, for India's honour, in golden letters on the banners of victory.

I have asked that next Sunday shall be observed as a Day of National Prayer. The virtue of prayer lies in thanksgiving, faith and resolution. We have much to be thankful for. Great Britain, the British Empire and our Allies have taken some hard knocks, but we have given them too; and we stand on infinitely firmer ground today than we did twelve months ago. But the war is by no means over; we may not yet have travelled even one-half of the long and rough road. We may be sure that there are before us many months of agony and

sweat and sacrifice, and it will take all our courage and resolution, all our faith and patience, to win through, with God's help, to the end. We must try to deserve the strength, which, next Sunday, we shall ask God to give us. If you think you are giving all you can, give twice as much ; if you think you are working as hard as you can, work twice as hard. I speak to you as comrades in this high endeavour, as fellow travellers along the hard and testing road of duty and of honour. Please believe me that your personal effort, your contribution, your support, are greatly needed and are truly appreciated.

Some of you will remember an allegory, in a book that was written close on 300 years ago, of a pilgrim who was beset upon his journey by the foul fiend Apollyon, who said, 'Prepare thyself to die ; for I swear by my infernal den that thou shalt go no farther ; here will I spill thy soul' ; and how the pilgrim fought back manfully for many hours, and, at the last, though wounded and weary, he saw an opportunity and gathered his strength and his courage to strike at the fiend the deadliest blow of all that fight : at which Apollyon 'spread forth his dragon's wings, and sped him away.'

We must make an even better job of our Apollyon : he must not get away. The Nazi and all his works must perish utterly from the earth. Be resolute, keep your eyes on the goal and keep your hearts high, and so, for the generations that are to come, Hitler shall mean no more than a name to frighten children with, a shadow of dragon's wings across the sun.

Goodnight. God bless you all."

38. NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL

Before the opening of the secret session of the first meeting of the National Defence Council on October 6, 1941, Lord Linlithgow welcomed the representatives of the Provinces and the Princes met together for the first time to consider and discuss the war position and India's war effort and to be acquainted " to the fullest degree, and in the fullest confidence," with the position in relation to all important aspects of the war effort. The establishment of the Council had been announced on July 21 by His Excellency the Viceroy along with the announcement of the enlargement of his Executive Council. The National Defence Council received a message of greetings from the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill. Extracts from Lord Linlithgow's speech : **Oct. 1941**

"Your Highnesses, Begum Shah Nawaz and Gentlemen,—This is a business gathering, and I am not going to make a long speech to you today. But I would like in the first place to extend to you the warmest possible welcome to this the first meeting of the National Defence Council, and to say how deeply I appreciate your public spirit in attending, in many cases, I know, at very great personal inconvenience. I would like, too, to say a word about the significance of this occasion, before we go into our secret session, and to touch very briefly on recent developments in the great part which India is playing in this war.

This occasion is one of great significance. For the first time the representatives of the Indian States and British India are met together to consider and discuss the war position and India's war effort; to receive from myself and from my advisers information on important aspects of these matters; to give my advisers and myself the benefit, the value of which I cannot over-estimate, of your own suggestions and advice. It is my hope and belief that this meeting will be the first of many, and that the contribution which these meetings will make to the removal of misunderstandings, to the furtherance of our common cause, to the stimulating still further of efforts already so generously and widely made throughout India, will be great indeed.

In the National Defence Council, composed as it is of representatives of the Princely Order and of the Provinces of British India, there has been established a body truly representative of all elements in the national life of India, whose sole object is the intensification of the war effort and the prosecution of the war. My object and that of my Government will be, during our secret deliberations, to acquaint the National Defence Council to the fullest degree, and in the fullest confidence, with the position in relation to all important aspects of the war effort; to obtain the benefit of their advice; to improve and develop liaison; and so to secure that, in a war that is as much India's war as the war of Great Britain or of any other part of the Empire, the Princely Order, and the Provinces of British India, are seized, through their representatives on the Defence Council, of the problems that confront us from time to time in the conduct of the war, of the greatness of India's contribution, and of the background to, and the justification for, the magnificent effort which India is putting forth. . . .

As the war goes on, every day reveals more clearly the place which India has won for herself in the world. She is today the base of operations for great campaigns and great strategic movements. The Commander-in-Chief, whom we are glad to welcome back today from his consultations with the Cabinet, with His Majesty's Representatives, civil and military, in the Middle East, and with our Russian Allies at Teheran, bears a responsibility which few, if any, of his predecessors in that great office can have held; and in the discharge of that responsibility from India he links India still more closely with those mighty movements that are taking place around us. India, as I have said, is the centre of the great Supply organisation which serves the vital military needs of countries ranging from Australia to South Africa. Her contribution in fighting men has been on the grandest scale, and will be greater yet. She is ready, as we know, to make sacrifices greater still in every way than those which she has so far been called upon to make. We may be proud of the achievement of India. We may be certain that that achievement will not fade from the memory of the nations."



First meeting of the National Defence Council. From LEFT *to* RIGHT: *The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes; the late Maharaja of Bikaner (shaking hands with the Viceroy), the Maharaja of Patiala; the Nawab of Rampur, and the Maharaja of Gwalior.*

39. INDIA'S STEEL WORKS

"You have reason to be proud of your membership of the largest steel producing unit of the British Empire, and proud of the work you are doing," remarked Lord Linlithgow in a speech to the employees of the Tata Iron and Steel Company's works at Jamshedpur on December 12, 1941 :— **Dec. 12 1941**

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to you for the welcome which you have given me, and for this opportunity of seeing the great work which is being done in Jamshedpur. Iron and Steel are the passwords of today : they will open the gates to India's future industrial prosperity, and they will win us the victory which must be won, if safety and prosperity are ever to be tasted. I have been intensely interested by what I have seen during this short visit. You have reason to be proud of your membership of the largest steel-producing unit of the British Empire, and proud of the work you are doing. I have been greatly encouraged to see that work, and to see that it is good. I have seen it through the eyes not only of your Viceroy, but of one who knows from personal experience what is the point of view of the soldier in the front line. In the last war, as in the present one, the aggressors started with a big material advantage in munitions and equipment. It is a disheartening experience for the soldier when his guns can only reply with one shell against every hundred fired by the enemy's guns ; or when he has to face a hundred enemy tanks with ten. But, if the soldier knows, as we knew in the last war, that there is a tremendous effort going forward in the munitions factories at home to give him as quickly as possible the weapons he needs, he can and will hold on until those weapons are in his hands. It is up to you to see that the tools which you send the soldier are good, that he gets them quickly, and in such numbers as not merely to restore the balance, but to give him an overwhelming superiority, so that he can finish the job once and for all.

In the Great War of 1914-18 this country sent overseas hundreds of thousands of tons of steel, which were used in our campaigns in Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa. In this war already about a million tons of your finished and semi-finished steel products—rails, structural sections, plates, sheets and bars—have been supplied for war requirements, and large quantities of your pig-iron have found their way even to Great Britain.

The stress of modern warfare calls for special qualities in steel, and it is in the production of special steel that this Company has shown imagination, foresight and energy of the highest order. Your Control and Research Laboratories are the finest of their kind in the Empire, and, as a result of their work, there is flowing from Jamshedpur—from this Steel Works and from the other closely associated factories in this area—in a steady and ever-increasing stream, a great variety of special alloy steels, high speed steels for machine tools, bullet-proof armour plate and many other essentials for the armies and factories of today—from steel helmets to stainless steel for surgical instruments ; and from tin-plate and barbed wire

to that special cable which is the answer to Hitler's secret weapon, the magnetic mine.

You have kept in the forefront of new developments and processes. As evidence of this I have seen today the armour plating of splendid quality, which is rolled and treated in your Works, being made into the bodies of fighting vehicles in the East Indian Railway Workshops. I shall be keenly interested to learn of the results of the bold and courageous experiments on which you are also engaged, whereby, for the first time, acid steel will be made direct from Indian raw materials. The new plant for this purpose will add to the growing number of your products, which, before the war, had to be imported from abroad. You are leading the way in showing that India can and should rely more and more on her own treasure-house of material resources and the skill of her own workmen to make her strong and prosperous.

Yours is the task to forge the shield as well as the spear-head of our armies in their mortal struggle. But you are not content with that. After your long day's work, you look to the defence of your own homes and workshops. The importance of air-raid precautions in a place like this needs no emphasis from me. My own eyes can testify to the energy and enthusiasm which you have brought to this voluntary work and the progress which you have achieved in the organisation, recruitment and training of A.R.P. workers and Civic Guards. I warmly congratulate you all—staff and management alike. It has been a fine effort, and an example and inspiration to many other parts of India.

Very generous gifts in money too for war purposes have come from Jamshedpur-Golmuri. Three fighter planes of the Royal Air Force carry the name of your district, and you have given 14 armoured "carriers" to the Indian Army. Your investments in War Funds have exceeded half a crore of rupees, and your Publicity Committee has been doing most valuable work.

All of you, I can see, are determined to fight this fight out to the limit of your powers; and all of you are determined which side will win. We shall win this war—but there is a stern task before us yet. How soon we shall win it depends on the skill and the perseverance of you, and of men and women like you. Never be content with your effort; never let it flag; then victory will soon be ours, and Jamshedpur will be free to turn to the great part she is bound to play in the reconstruction of a peace-time world.

You workers in Iron and Steel hold the industrial future and the present safety of India in your hands. That is a great trust and a great responsibility, but the skill, the industry and the readiness of every man and woman among you will, I know, prove equal to it.

The soldier who looks to you for your powerful co-operation will not ask in vain. He stands in the front line of battle, but you are standing at his shoulder, and it is the strength you give which will drive his swordarm forward, carrying destruction to the Nazi and to all our enemies."

40. THE YEAR 1941

A seventh year in the office of the Viceroy, even in the most peaceful times, would be a heavy burden to carry —but a seventh year, when so much had been crowded into one Viceroyalty, was no light matter, said Lord Linlithgow addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 15, 1941. **Dec. 15, 1941**

The significance of the enlargement of the Governor-General's Executive Council in July that year was, he thought, greater than was sometimes appreciated; its immediate importance was great; on the long-term view it was likely to prove to be even greater. Great Departments of the State had been transferred to non-official gentlemen of the highest standing and reputation with "joint responsibility for all the business that comes before the Governor-General in Council." The European and the official majorities of the Council had disappeared. The second limb of the new arrangement was the National Defence Council.

But Lord Linlithgow deeply regretted that the provincial position remained unchanged and there still remained unbridged the gulf between the parties as regards the future government of India. "We have left nothing undone to bring the parties together," he said. Extracts:—

"Your Excellency, Mr. President, Gentlemen—I thank you most warmly for the welcome you have given me here today, and I need not say how great a pleasure it is to me to meet you again, or how greatly I esteem the privilege that you have extended to me of addressing you. This is the sixth occasion on which I have had that privilege. You know how much importance I attach to the opportunity it gives me of speaking at large on matters of great moment not only to the commercial community, which you, gentlemen, represent, but to an audience wider far.

Before I proceed with my remarks I hope you will allow me to say how glad I was to hear the tribute which you, Sir, have paid to His Excellency Sir John Herbert. Few people can know better than I do the zeal and the enthusiasm which he has displayed in his most heavy and responsible charge, and the pains at which he has been not only to acquaint himself with the problems of that charge on paper, but to make close contact with every corner of the Presidency, and, through his own example, and his own keen interest, to encourage every endeavour that has been made in support of the war effort of Bengal.

In your speech today, Sir, you touched on a number of points of great importance, and I will do my best in what I have to say to comment on them. I should like also, with your permission, to say a brief word towards the end of my speech on the Indian political situation, and on the developments that have taken place in it during the last twelve months. But today, wherever we may be, the matter of first importance, the matter of vital importance, the one thing that dominates our thoughts, the one thing that demands every ounce of energy that we can spend, is the successful prosecution of the war and its successful outcome. And it is therefore of the

war, and of its fortunes over the last twelve months, and of India's contribution to it, and the help that India has given and is giving, that I would like in the first place to speak.

Today the minds of all of us are full of the wanton and unprovoked aggression of the Japanese against the British Empire and against the United States of America. Like master like man, says the old proverb. The Japanese have if possible improved on the example set them by the Nazis of deceit, of cold-blooded disregard of the most solemn obligations and, I trust also, on a long view, of short-sightedness. There is little I need say to you today in a case so clear, at a juncture so critical. A more infamous betrayal of those principles which Japan has in the past claimed to venerate and to uphold would be difficult to parallel. The warning is clear to all of us, as it is clear to the small nations. This new and heavy addition to our responsibilities is one that we must bend every nerve to deal with and to master. And in handling that task we shall have with us, I am certain, as fully as in the earlier phases of the war, the goodwill, the heartfelt sympathy, and the support of India as a whole.

When I addressed you last year the Empire was but recovering from the blow inflicted on it by the defeat of our French allies, and the collapse of France. We were through the worst. We had stood up to the heaviest battering that any nation could have had to face. We had survived with success many months of acute peril and immense strain ; and we were in a position to look forward with confidence to 1941.

1941 has not belied the hopes that we entertained a year ago. It does not see the end of the war. There are before us many critical months, months in which we shall pass through grave anxiety, in which we shall suffer heavy losses, in which we shall have to bear the strain of critical situations, before the desired outcome is achieved. But we are a year further on the way. The year which has just passed has been marked by many events of the utmost significance. The enemy's endeavours to strangle us by sea have failed. The Battle of the Atlantic still goes on, and will go on. But the threat it constitutes, and the burden it represents, are less great by far than those a year ago.

By land, we have liquidated the Italian Empire in Africa. In that great task, with which the name of our present Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency General Sir Archibald Wavell, will for ever imperishably be associated, the part played by India and Indian troops was of the first significance and of the highest value. I have the Commander-in-Chief's personal authority for the outstanding quality of their effort and of the contribution that they have made. India's troops, fighting at Gondar a few days ago, fighting in North Africa as I speak to you, are maintaining the highest traditions set by the Indian Army in the past, and by their comrades in the earlier phases of this war. In Iraq, in Persia, in both of which countries Axis endeavours to turn to their advantage, by Fifth Column methods

and insidious propaganda, the weakness of individuals have been foiled, Indian troops have played their part. There is I think some risk that recent events in the Far East may divert attention from the great and glorious victory which General Auchinleck and the troops under his command, splendidly supported by the Royal Navy and the Air Forces of the Empire, have won, against very important German and Italian forces, in North Africa. In the long and gruelling battle between forces very evenly matched, Indian troops are playing a highly distinguished part. The strategic importance of this battle will, I am convinced, prove to be very great; and it is most heartening to notice that, upon the first occasion that we have met the Germans on terms of equality in numbers and armament, our men have proved their superiority.

From the United States of America, to which our sympathy goes out with such sincerity and depth in the shocking aggression of which they have been the victims, the Empire has had, and continues to have, help of inestimable value. Let me say in that connection how great a happiness it has been to me to see during my own term of office, and at a juncture so critical as the present, the bonds between the United States of America and India more closely knit by the appointment as United States Commissioner to India of Mr. Thomas Murray Wilson, so well known to many of us here; and by the appointment of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai as Agent-General of India in America.

When last I addressed you, few of us anticipated that a still more blatant exhibition of cynicism was to be given by a breach of relations between Germany and Russia, and by the wholly unprovoked, and wholly unjustified, onslaught made without a moment's notice, or a word of warning, by the Nazis on a nation to which they were bound by every form of engagement. Russia has had to meet and to carry the shock of a devastating and an unprovoked attack. But her response has been magnificent; and I know, gentlemen, that I speak for you all today when I say that the deep and sincere good wishes of everyone of us go out to Russia and to her people in the battle they are waging; and that there is no one of us who does not feel admiration, real and profound, for the supreme example which she and her people have given to the world of courage, resolution, and tenacity.

We have been at war for two years and a quarter. We have suffered heavy losses, grave setbacks. But we have much to show in the result: and it is my sincere belief that, with the lessons of the past behind us, we can face the very testing times that lie ahead with confidence, and well-founded confidence, that we shall face them with no less resolution and no less courage, whatever may lie in store for us, than the Empire, and than India, have shown since the day that the war began.

India's contribution to the war and to its successful outcome was great indeed even a year ago. In the twelve months that have passed since we met its growth has been immense. His Majesty's

Government have shown themselves most anxious to take advantage of the men, the munitions, the supplies of various kinds which India is so well qualified to give, and which India has always been so anxious to give. The number of our fighting men who are defending India overseas is three times what it was a year ago, and ten times what it was two years ago. The organization of our supply system has been, I will not say perfected, for there is always room for improvement in any system, but it has been brought to a pitch of performance which commands admiration, and the results of which are striking in the highest degree. Let me pay due acknowledgment to the part which your help and your constructive criticism have played in that achievement.

In every form of warlike display we are playing our part, indeed more than our part. In every form of financial contribution—for weapons, for equipment, for amenities for the fighting forces, for the relief of distress arising from the war, India, the States and British India alike, remains most generous and open-hearted. And the spirit of this country, since it first recognized what was involved in the struggle in which we are engaged, has remained, and remains, calm, firm, convinced of the necessity of victory, ready to do and to give all in its power to bring about victory. But there is always *more* for us to do. There are always ways in which as a country and as individuals we can make a still greater contribution. I am ready to ask for the impossible, and I know that if I do I shall get a ready response, not only from you, gentlemen, and the great commercial community which you represent, but from all classes and from every part of India.

I would like in the first place to say a word about supply. You can imagine how deep a satisfaction it has been to me to hear, Sir, the encouraging and the friendly words which you were good enough to use today of the work of my Supply Department.

I can bear personal witness to the intensity of the efforts made by the officers of that department since the beginning of the war, and to the anxiety both of Sir Zafrulla Khan and of his distinguished successor, Sir Homi Mody, to see that the very best results possible are achieved, whatever the difficulties that may confront us. The progress made has been due in part to plans laid well over a year ago by those who founded the Department and who saw it through its early troubles. But the two great factors in our progress have been the establishment of the forward programme and the creation of the Eastern Group Supply Council.

The forward programme has made it possible to enter into contracts for six months at a time, and to get industry into continuous production. The Eastern Group Supply Council has, beyond any question, most markedly stimulated the war effort on the supply side in India, and in the Dominions and other countries represented in the Eastern Group. The Eastern Group Conference gave the representatives of the various Governments concerned a clear idea of the industrial potential of their neighbours ; and I woud like to

take the opportunity to add that India has had a very full share of the orders that have so far been placed through the Council. The opening of a great new theatre of war in the Far East will provide a sharp test of the elasticity and soundness of our provision and supply organizations. I have every confidence that these will emerge with credit.

I think that you will wish me to give you, as briefly as I can, a few outstanding facts which speak for themselves. The production of steel is being rapidly stepped up by the efforts, to which I should like to pay a warm tribute, of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, and the Steel Corporation of Bengal. Before the middle of 1942 production should touch a rate of 1.25 million tons per annum; and that is not a final figure, for a substantial increase upon it may be looked for. I would like to say a word of praise and of thanks in this connexion for the efforts of the Tata Iron and Steel Company (whose works I have just had the pleasure of visiting again), in producing special steels, notably armour plate and bullet-proof welding electrodes.

All the Ministry of Supply Mission projects approved by His Majesty's Government are now well launched and work upon them is proceeding as fast as possible.

Civil armaments production, which encountered initial difficulties of some substance, is now shaping well, and the production of empty shell is satisfactory. There are difficulties still to be overcome in the production of certain munitions components. But the work done during the last twelve months has not been wasted, and I am satisfied that we may reasonably take an encouraging view of prospects.

India's shipyards are employed to capacity in the construction of minesweeping trawlers and other small naval craft, as well as in repairs to ships of the line and merchant vessels.

Progress has been made, I am glad to say, in stimulating and developing the Indian machine tool industry, and simple machine tools are now being manufactured in India in fairly large quantities. Engineering stores are being manufactured in very large quantities indeed, and, though there are still hold-ups owing to the uneven flow of material, the fabricating workshops are fully occupied. The demand for woollen textiles still absorbs India's capacity to the full. Cotton textile demands are increasing very rapidly, and the great cotton textile industry, whose capacity we would all of us at one time have thought to be almost inexhaustible, is now beginning to feel the strain of the demands placed upon it both for direct war purposes and for various purposes arising out of the war conditions. The Indian silk industry will shortly assist in the war effort by providing the material required for the extensive manufacture of man-carrying statichutes in India. Demands for timber have risen to an unprecedented level. The Government clothing factories are now turning out over 8 million garments a month. Leather manufacturers are being organized on the same lines as clothing, and the value of the monthly output already exceeds Rs. 1.25 crores.

The output of motor vehicles assembled in India has been much increased, and so far as armoured vehicles are concerned, India will be able to produce all the armour plate required for a considerable programme. India will shortly be producing her own refined sulphur, and valuable progress has been made in the production of vital chemicals, such as bichromates, and of medical stores, including both drugs and equipment.

1941 saw something like a fourfold increase over the greater part of the Supply field, and the demands of 1942 may be literally gigantic. You will be with me in feeling that the main consideration at present is that India should prepare herself for the immense burden likely to fall upon her in 1942 and subsequent years. As I speak to you today, we can claim already to have achieved great results. For those results I am profoundly grateful, not only to my Supply Department but to the willing co-operation of industry, which has been so generously given, and which is of such vital and essential importance. I would ask that that co-operation should continue to be given with the same fulness as in the past, and if it is—and I need not say how entirely confident I am that it will be, even when under the stress of war difficulties may sometimes seem unsurmountable—we need none of us have any doubt or fear lest India should fail to play her part to the full in this vital area of war effort.

You referred, Sir, to the growing demands on industry and commerce on account of the war production programme, and to the shortage of skilled labour which is making itself felt. In that connexion you sounded a note of caution that production not required for the direct prosecution of the war should not be closed down; and you reminded us that while the paramount need for commerce and industry is to man, equip, and maintain the most effective possible fighting force, they must not be entirely unmindful of their own preservation. I can at once assure you that it is not part of the policy of my Government to close down industrial production merely because it is not required for the direct prosecution of the war. But, inevitably, war work is in an increasing degree causing demands on material and labour at the expense of the normal operations of certain industries.

As regards skilled labour my Government has done, and will continue to do, its utmost to train such labour in increasing numbers, to give special facilities for such training and to ensure that available skilled labour is used to the best advantage. The labour position, save in regard to certain specially technical labour connected with engineering, is, happily, easier in certain regards in India than in other countries. Though there has developed a shortage of highly skilled and skilled labour, it is doubtful whether there is yet a shortage of semi-skilled, and there is no lack of unskilled.

There is, however, a shortage, and a shortage keenly felt, of supervisory and administrative staff. This is true in particular of European managerial and supervisory staff owing to the scheme of compulsory military service which has been introduced, and to

the eager response that there has been to the call for men. I agree entirely that every action possible to foresee difficulties, and, consistently with the winning of the war, to provide for them, and to watch the preservation, in your own words, of Industry and Commerce, must be taken. I feel certain that the National Service Tribunals with their large majority of non-official business men, will be concerned to bear in mind the legitimate claims of industry and commerce, and to see that the depletion of this staff is not carried too far.

Sir, you touched on the very remarkable growth of wartime industries in India and on the question of their post-war future, and you urged the need for all the help required if many of those industries are to survive economically in post-war conditions. That important question has been constantly before me and before my Advisers; and in the Budget Session of 1940 the Government of India formally stated that they were prepared, in the case of specific industries started in war conditions, to give assurances that such industries, after peace was restored, would be given some form of protection against competition from abroad. That assurance was inevitably confined to specific industries, since in each case the scope of the industry, its needs, and the part that it will play in the general economy of the country, have to be considered. There are cases where an industry does not satisfy the conditions referred to as regards its position in peace conditions, and where its establishment is essential for war purposes. In those cases the Department of Supply makes the practice of encouraging production by a variety of *ad hoc* methods, certain of which will protect the industrialist from loss. In some cases the State has itself found the necessary capital under appropriate conditions.

Apart from this, the question of post-war economy, with special reference to industrial development, is engaging the close and constant attention of my Government.

Some time back it was announced that Post-War Reconstruction Committees would be constituted to examine various aspects of post-war economy, and to deal with problems likely to arise in post-war conditions. These Reconstruction Committees are in the course of being constituted, and they will include a strong non-official element. One of them, the Consultative Committee of Economists, has already started work. I sincerely trust that these Committees and their deliberations will contribute materially to the solution of some of the problems to which you have referred.

In the circumstances of today the problem of civil defence assumes an importance greater than ever. I am glad to think that the whole of this very vital issue is now being handled, in consultation with the provinces, by a single Civil Defence Department at the headquarters of my Government, and that, in dealing with it, I have the assistance, in Mr. Raghavendra Rao, of an adviser who has himself had much practical experience at home and who has had the advantage also of a very close contact with the Ministry of Home Security.

You have rightly stressed the important part which transportation plays in modern warfare—and, I would add, in our whole economic life—and the importance of securing the best use of the available facilities. These unfortunately have never been fully adequate for the needs of the country, and the war is bound to involve an increasing strain on them.

My Government has been encouraging the establishment of Boards at the leading cities to co-ordinate transport over large areas and I recognize that as the war goes on, it may be necessary to impose further control than is operative at present. But compulsion always involves a certain sacrifice of elasticity and we are anxious to leave as much liberty to private enterprise as is compatible with the fullest war effort.

I listened with close attention to the observations which you, Sir, made in your speech on the problem of inflation. I welcome the prominence you gave to this subject and while you will not, I know, take me as endorsing all that you say in this regard, I would congratulate you on a lucid analysis of one of the most baffling of present-day problems. I personally am satisfied, on the best advice available to me, that there is as yet no undue cause for alarm, and that the situation has so far proved reasonably amenable to control.

But the bitter experience of so many countries of post-war Europe shows the havoc, the distress, the social injustice, which uncontrolled inflation is capable of causing ; and all who have at heart the interests of India and its people must do their utmost to prevent the vicious spiral from taking hold of this country. My Government have been, and are, giving the matter their constant and most anxious consideration. But the ramifications of the problem are complex, possible counter-measures are beset with administrative difficulties, and in our efforts to deal with it we need and will, I assure you most gratefully welcome, all the advice and all the active assistance which we can get from the commercial and the non-official world.

The encouragement and stimulus of increased production where feasible is the most obvious, the most effective, and the most generally acceptable course of action. But unfortunately its scope is in present circumstances strictly limited, and other and more drastic action may often become necessary. You have referred to price fixation as one of the possible methods of attacking the problem, and you have emphasised its limitations. I need hardly say that my advisers are fully conscious of the fact that mere price fixing by itself can seldom provide a complete cure, while any attempt to check the rise of prices, whether of primary products or of manufactured articles, not infrequently arouses hostility and opposition on the part of the interests immediately affected. And rationing of articles of common consumption, which is the almost inevitable corollary to control of prices, presents in a vast country like India greater practical difficulties than in countries smaller and more highly organized. But I can at once assure you that my Government are quite prepared to resort to methods of direct price control where they are satisfied

that such action can with advantage be taken, and they will not hesitate, where need be, to follow up this preliminary measure with such control over supply as may prove to be necessary and practicable.

You spoke of the danger of inflation which may result from rising wages, and the increased purchasing power thereby created in the hands of a vast number of employees. You distinguished between the case in which higher wages are passed on to the consumer in the form of a higher price for the product, and the case in which the increased wage bill is met entirely out of the higher profits accruing to the employed. But you suggested that even in the latter case there must still be a considerable inflationary effect, a proposition which I am not disposed to dispute. It is, I think, generally recognized that a higher standard of living, based upon a war-boom, has inherent elements of instability, and that there is a limit to the extent to which rising wages and earnings result in a real improvement, owing to the development of shortages in the supply of consumable goods. This applies not only to luxuries, but also to certain necessaries, such for example as textiles. But it is, I think, possible to exaggerate the direct influence on the situation of the demands of labour, and it is important to realize that there are other, and perhaps more fundamental, factors at work as well. Wartime taxation undoubtedly contributes to the avoidance of the dangers of profit-inflation, but this remedy can at best be only partial. It needs to be upplemented by the avenues for saving and investment provided by the Government of India's Defence Loans. And, if workers are to obtain the full benefit of their higher money wages, they should save as much as possible, and by doing so at once safeguard their own future position and help to prevent rises in the prices of consumers' goods which can be of no advantage to them.

I regard it as a matter of first importance to India's wartime economy. With rupee expenditure on military and war supply activities standing, as it now does, in the region of 20 crores a month; with imports both from belligerent and from neutral countries subject to severe restrictions; there is a clear and imperative need for withdrawing as far as possible the surplus purchasing capacity so as to prevent the inflationary rise in prices which, as you rightly point out, everybody dreads. It is here that my Government rely on, and, I am confident will receive the utmost assistance and co-operation from the non-official world.

In all Provincial Defence Loan Committees there is a large non-official element, while those in Bengal, Bombay and Madras are, I believe, entirely non-official. I am deeply grateful to them for their admirable work.

Such special efforts are of the greatest value, and I cannot too warmly commend their example. But the situation demands persistent and unremitting effort. Of the 20 crores a month which I have just mentioned a substantial portion must pass directly into the hands of the urban industrial workers, and through them to a vast number of other humble folk who live entirely outside the realm

of income-tax, excess profits tax, and defence bonds. I would urge that all possible encouragement and assistance be given to them to conserve their savings by investment in Defence Savings Certificates, the Post Office Defence Savings Bank, or the Savings Stamp and Savings Card; and I am sure that I can rely on you and on all employers of labour, by your personal influence to help in a matter, the importance of which in times such as these I cannot easily exaggerate.

When we last met, I spoke to you of the proposals in the constitutional field, which, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, I made on August 8, 1940. I was at pains to analyse those proposals in detail. I tried to bring out their far-reaching character; their great potentialities; their real significance both immediate and for the future. I repeated that they reaffirmed, as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown, and of the British Parliament, the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth. I emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in framing the future constitutional scheme; the far-reaching significance of their decision that responsibility for the framing of that future constitutional scheme should, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connexion with India has imposed upon her, be primarily for Indians themselves. I referred to the readiness of His Majesty's Government to see set up, after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay, a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life, to devise the framework of that scheme. I repeated that, pending the conclusion of the war, His Majesty's Government were only too anxious to welcome and promote any sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves to prepare the way for agreement about the form and procedure of this post-war body, and about the principles and basis of the constitution. I spoke of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to see that there was a sufficient degree of general agreement in this country behind any constitutional changes which is so essential if there is to be harmonious working. I made an appeal to all parties to sink their differences in times such as these, when the fate of everything that we all of us hold most dear is in the balance, and to co-operate in the defence of those common ideals.

My appeal did not secure the response for which I had hoped. I determined, however, to wait, in the hope that the passing of time would make a difference, for I wanted to give every possible chance to the major parties to come together on the basis of these proposals. I hoped, too, that the increasing pressure of the war, and its swift approach to India, would influence the decision. I was anxious, finally, as I always have been, to secure, for the expansion of my Government and for the other arrangements which I had in view for associating opinion in India more closely with the conduct of the war, the support of the great political parties.

I was disappointed in those hopes. But, though I was prevented from going ahead on the lines which I proposed in August of 1940, I would repeat that the guarantees, the undertakings, the pledges, the intentions, and the attitude of His Majesty's Government, as explained in my statement, towards future constitutional development and the machinery by which it is to be brought about, are as valid today as when they were first spoken. But, given the increasing pressure of the war, I could not, in justice to India itself, longer postpone, because of the absence of support from the great political parties, the creation of additional departments in my Council, the reorganization of the work of that body, and the taking of steps for the association of non-official opinion with what was going on.

It was in those circumstances that, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, the reorganization announced in last July took place. That reorganization did not have any basis other than administrative convenience. But in making it, though I could not look for help from the political parties, I was anxious that I should get the best men I could, the most representative men, men of real standing and importance in this country. In that I can claim to have succeeded. Though the reasons for the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council in the form which it finally took were those that I have explained, the processs of expansion, the fact that as part of it there disappeared the European and the official majorities that had been the characteristics of that body for so many years, the transfer to non-official gentlemen of the highest standing and reputation in this country of great departments of State, with joint responsibility for all the business that comes before the Governor-General in Council, was a step the significance of which is far greater than I sometimes think is realized. Its immediate importance is great. On the long-term view it is likely to prove to be even greater.

Let me add that during the few months that my expanded Council and I have been working together, I have, if I may say so, been most deeply impressed by its approach to the problems which come before it, by its wide grasp of the diverse issues that at all times fall to be considered, by its strong sense of corporate unity, by the independence of view of its members, and by the happiness of the atmosphere that has throughout characterised our confidential discussions. And we have had many major issues to consider during the time that we have been together. The Council in its present form is a body of great authority and great distinction. It represents wide experience, political and administrative. On it are members of different communities, from different parts of India, Service and non-Service, European and Indian. I would like to express to this important audience my own judgment of its entire competence in the administrative field, and my own appreciation of the value of the assistance which it has been able to give me on wider political issues. It is a strong, effective, and distinguished body; and India may be well content that in the direction of affairs she is so well served today.

The second limb of the new arrangements which were announced in July was the establishment of the National Defence Council, and I

would like to pay a tribute to the patriotism and public spirit of those gentlemen who have accepted my invitation to join that body. As you know my intention was (and is) that Prime Ministers of Provinces shall be *ex-officio* members.

In these last few days we have welcomed to it the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, who on the happy occasion of the restoration of normal parliamentary government in Orissa, which we all of us so much welcome, has become the Prime Minister of that Province, while with the formation of a new Ministry in Bengal, the Chief Minister of Bengal becomes a member of the Council.

The establishment of the Council is a most important landmark. I think that those of you present here today who are members of it will support me when I say that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and his military, naval and air advisers have been at pains to give the utmost information in their power, information, too, of a most secret character to the Defence Council; and that it has been my anxiety in other fields equally to put its members in the fullest possession possible of what we are doing, of our difficulties, and of the directions in which we would welcome their help. The value of its discussions has been very great, and that not only because of the many constructive and helpful suggestions made by the Council. Those discussions have enabled us to make the Rulers of the Indian States, and the representatives of non-official opinion throughout the provinces of British India, fully aware of the facts of the situation; and they have brought about a liaison between myself, my Government, the Indian States, and the provinces of British India the value of which I cannot overstate.

But, while the two steps which I have just mentioned are of great significance and of great hope for the future, our main problem still remains unsolved.

While in five provinces the constitution is functioning normally with the assistance of the legislature, in six others its normal operation remains suspended. There could be no better advertisement of the practicability and the advantage of normal parliamentary government than the success with which it has been worked in great provinces such as Bengal and the Punjab, and in areas presenting problems so different as do Bengal and the Punjab, Assam and Sind. And it remains to me a bitter disappointment that those in other provinces who had asked for and had accepted the burden of government should have thrown it down so lightheartedly, at a moment of such crisis in the fortunes of the world and of India, and with so little consideration of what was involved. That that decision has provoked many regrets I am well aware. I can but hope that we may yet see the day when, in the provinces which are still without a ministerial government, we shall see in power governments set on the winning of the war and ready to use the immense power and opportunities at their disposal.

And if the provincial position is as I have described it, there still remains unbridged the gulf between the parties as regards the future Government of India. That that problem remains unsolved is due to

no lack of goodwill, no lack of earnest effort on the part of His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State and myself. We have left nothing undone to bring the parties together, to try to provide the materials for an amicable agreement between them, to try to smooth India's path to the realisation of her goal. At the critical point which matters have now reached in the international situation I would ask again whether it is not possible for the divisions that unhappily exist to be bridged, and for India, which has made, and is making, so immense a contribution to the war, which stands for so much in the history of the world, to go forward as one in support of ideals in which we know that she believes, and for which there is such overwhelming and general support throughout the country. And it is my earnest prayer that the common detestation of the wickedness against which we are fighting today may reflect itself in that agreement in the internal political field which it has always been our hope and desire to see achieved.

Let it not be forgotten that when this war broke out India, in provincial autonomy, had begun to move, had indeed made a most important step along the road, to that equality of status with the Dominions which it has been our object to achieve. That the more complete fulfilment of that process by the establishment of Federation should not have been realised by the date of the outbreak of the war has always been a profound grief to me.

Had we been able, before the outbreak of the war, to have brought Federation into being, so many of the problems that confront us now would have been solved. No better constitutional basis could have been found on which to develop the efforts of British India and the Indian States in a partnership which would, I believe, have been as fruitful of unity and concord in the years to come as of military advantage in the issue that immediately confronts us.

Underlying the federal scheme there was a majestic conception, the work of the best brains of India and Great Britain, elaborated with the utmost care, designed to bring this great country to a constitutional position equal in status and character to that of the Dominions. None of us overlooked the difficulties. They have always been great. They have always been obvious. They should not be insurmountable. But I will not be misunderstood when I say that they are in no small measure domestic, and that a closer collaboration between parties, communities and interests in this country would go far to pave the way for the final work of the post-war period even if, during the war, the obstacles to handling in detail all aspects of the vast and complex problem of constitutional development may be insuperable.

We stand today at a crucial moment in the history of mankind. Throughout the world mighty forces are engaged in a titanic struggle, the outcome of which will affect the destinies of the human race for centuries. In the Far East the clouds that we have watched gathering for so long have burst in a storm that brings the menace of war even more closely to this land. India is no mere spectator of these tremendous events. They affect her vitally and she is playing an outstanding part in them. Let us in such circumstances forget our domestic

differences and work together as a whole for that common object, the attainment of which is so vitally necessary to India and so anxiously desired by all her people.

When I addressed you a year ago I thought that if you did me the honour to ask me to speak to you at your meeting this year it would be for the last time. A seventh year in this great office would in any circumstances, even the most peaceful, be a heavy burden to carry. A seventh year in circumstances such as those of today, when so much has been crowded into one Viceroyalty, and so many issues of most critical importance have fallen to my lot, is no light matter. For the best part of six years, you have given me in full measure, the powerful aid of your comfort and support, I trust that you may find me deserving of these for yet another year, in which I shall strive, if strength is given me, to fulfil to the utmost of my powers the great charge which His Majesty has once again been pleased to place in my hands."

41. "YOU ARE NOT COMPLACENT"

Jan. 9, 1942

"You did what many others throughout the world must be sorry they left undone", said Lord Linlithgow addressing officers, men and women of the Karachi Civil Defence Services on January 9, 1942. Text of the address:

"I am glad to have had this opportunity of inspecting your parade today, and I am much encouraged by what I have seen. Your smartness and steadiness are a credit to you and to the famous city which you serve. I have been following with keen interest the details of your progress and development, and in the field of A.R.P. and Civic Guards you can justly be proud of the fact that you did what many others throughout the world must be sorry they left undone; you saw the danger, you recognised the enemy, and you started to prepare for your defence in time. A year before the organisation of Civic Guards had been set up in India, you had your Emergency Guards in Karachi, and the beginnings of your A.R.P. Scheme go back to 1938. You have moreover persevered in your voluntary tasks with zeal and imagination, and your public spirit deserves not only the gratitude but the emulation of those many thousands of your fellow-citizens who do not stand in your ranks today.

In this vitally important matter of Civil Defence let no man feel that he may safely leave the job to be performed by his neighbour. Such complacency has been the ruin of enough peoples already who took up arms to defend themselves too late. You, whom I am addressing, have not been complacent: you have given up your leisure and your comfort to make yourselves more fit for the duties to which you have so unselfishly devoted yourselves: you have realised that, in modern warfare, the battle line is of infinite depth: it runs through the home of each citizen, however far removed that may be from the sound of the guns: and it is just as important that it should be stoutly manned in your own homes, and in your own hearts and minds, as in the deserts of Libya or the jungles of Malaya. Others, who have not

yet joined your numbers, should realise this too. There is no better tonic for anxiety and doubt than a hard job of useful work such as you are doing ; there is no better way of resisting the insidious probes of the enemy into your courage and determination.

You men and women, of the Police, the Ambulance Services, the Boy Scouts, Civic Guards and A.R.P. Services, are doing a fine job of work. You are all proud, I know, of the magnificent feats of arms performed by the fighting forces of India overseas : yours is the best way of expressing that pride and of proving worthy of the heroism and the sacrifice with which they are keeping the war far from India's frontiers, and winning fresh lustre for her glorious annals. They look to us, those fighting men, to maintain the standard which they have set up. They expect every one of us to maintain it by carrying on, steadfast, confident, determined, at our daily task whatever it may be, and at whatever voluntary labour of defence or preparation we may undertake beside. I know you will see to it, if the test comes, that our soldiers will be proud of you.

Do not lose the momentum you have gained, citizens of Karachi. Do not let the routine of drill or of daily preparations to meet a danger that is still far off, blunt the edge of your alertness. Keep your imagination awake. Think of every untoward thing, however unlikely, however bad, which might conceivably happen here in this city, and see that you are ready to meet and counter it. You have begun well and strongly. You must go from strength to strength, without flagging or weariness or discouragement. There may be a long night yet to watch through ; but you have mounted guard, and you will perform your trust bravely and patiently until your relief comes with the dawn. And the dawn of victory is on its way as surely as tomorrow's sunrise."

42. A NEW PROVINCE

Sind boasts of a monumental work of engineering which was the dream of irrigation engineers for half a century. Lord Linlithgow's speech at the Provincial Darbar at Hyderabad (Sind) on January 10, 1942. **Jan. 10, 1942**

" Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It gives me particular pleasure that I am privileged to be the first Viceroy to have an opportunity of meeting, on a formal occasion, and speaking to the representatives of the Province of Sind. I am delighted to see how truly representative is the gathering that is assembled here today, consisting as it does of the Baluch Sardars, of members of the landed aristocracy of the province, of legislators and of administrators. I am not, in any case, one who thinks that formal gatherings such as this, even in wartime, have outlived their usefulness. A new province naturally looks forward to the future ; but the country has its roots firmly fixed in the past, and Sind itself inherits a wealth of tradition drawn from a long and honourable history ; it is, moreover, a country of great contrasts both physical and in the character and outlook of its people ; and for these reasons I am sure that you in Sind will

agree with me that Darbars, such as this, at which the representatives of Government and the representatives of the people may meet with traditional ceremonial and solemnity, can still be occasions of great value and inspiration.

The last ten years have marked a great increase in the prosperity of Sind. There is no doubt that in that prosperity the principal factor has been the opening of the Lloyd Barrage and its canals. The completion of this monumental work of engineering—the dream of Irrigation Engineers for half a century—is imperishably linked with the name of that great administrator and devoted servant of the Empire and of this country, Lord Lloyd, whose loss we have so lately mourned and for whose zeal and vision the Sindhi cultivator has so much to be grateful. The Barrage has, as we know, and as was always expected, brought new problems as well as solved old ones. It is perhaps not an unreasonable aspiration on the part of dwellers in those areas of the province which enjoy no benefit from the Barrage that they should be raised to a state of prosperity comparable with that of the Barrage tract, and I am glad to know that projects with that end in view are being actively examined by your Government.

The dispute between your province and your neighbour, the Punjab, over the distribution of the Indus waters is being investigated by a Commission composed of members of the highest standing and experience, in whose ability to produce a solution acceptable to all parties I have every confidence.

It was a matter of great regret to me to hear that your crops last year had been afflicted by two serious pests. The energy with which the problem presented by the invasion of locusts was handled deserves every praise, for the greater part of your crops was saved, and valuable experience was gained, which will help to counter and eliminate that pest in future years. The threat from the boll-worm to your cotton crop still needs most careful investigation, and this I am glad to know has been undertaken with the help of a grant from the Indian Central Cotton Committee. I most earnestly commend this valuable field of research to the attention of all cotton farmers in this province for their wholehearted co-operation, as a means of averting a loss which may well amount throughout the province to crores of rupees.

I make no apology for referring to these agricultural matters first, though it is the war that is in the foreground of all our thoughts and endeavours at this time, since they are important matters for this Province, and the farmer in every part of India is playing as significant and as potentially valuable a part as the soldier and the industrialist in the prosecution of the war.

Day by day we hear of the fighting overseas in which the armed forces of India are giving a magnificent account of themselves, in attack and in defence. They are fighting on and beyond the outer perimeter of our fortress and their valour is keeping the war from India's gates. Their courage and skill will bring us victory, but there is a hard fight still to be fought ; and we in India, and particularly you in Sind, who stand in the first line of our inner defences, must be

worthy of our soldiers, sailors and airmen overseas and must give them the strength and confidence that comes from knowing that behind them India's inner line of defence is secure and stoutly manned. The enemy today is still far from our frontiers—both on the East and on the West,—and please God he will ever remain so. But he is a cunning enemy who does not fight on the battle-field alone ; he seeks also, by spreading alarm and confusion behind the front, to undermine the steadfastness and courage of civilian populations. It is perhaps the utmost that he hopes to achieve in India ; and we must see to it that his hope is a barren one. We have seen what disorder he wrought by that means among the countries in Europe which he overran and how disastrous for the defence of these countries was the impediment caused by refugees : we have seen too in the example of the island fortress of the United Kingdom how the threat and the terror can be withstood. The enemy must never gain such easy triumphs here. Each one of us behind the lines can best secure not only the ultimate triumph of our cause, but the present safety of our homes and our families by remaining steadfastly at our work and carrying on with calm confidence and determination at our daily tasks. If to these tasks each citizen were to add membership of one of the voluntary Civil Defence Organisations, the Air Raid Precautions Services or the Civic Guards, then the defence of Sind, and India's defence, would be doubly sure. I cannot too strongly commend the invaluable contribution which these Services are now making to our war effort, and I hope that their rank will soon be swelled by many thousands of new recruits, in fact by all public-spirited citizens, who for the love and honour of their country would lend their aid in establishing and increasing a state of disciplined preparedness.

I deeply appreciate the generosity with which gifts of money have been made to the Sind War Planes Fund and to His Excellency the Governor's Fund—though I cannot fail to observe that it is not always the most prosperous parts of the province that have taken the lead in this generosity. I acknowledge with especial gratitude the results achieved during the recent Sind War Week. These sums, when added to the money which Your Excellency has sent me after your tour in Southern Sind, will suffice, I am glad to say, to cover the cost of mechanisation of a complete battalion of the Baluch Regiment, with which your province has such old and strong associations.

Before I end, let me turn for a moment to the important subject of law and order in this province. For territorial and geographical reasons, and to some extent also because of the commonly felt difficulty in police force organisation of anticipating the demands of a growing population and more complex administration, your Government must still rely to a great extent on the influence and example of large land-holders for assistance in maintaining law and order. I am very glad to see so many here whose influence, I know, is a strong factor in the preservation of peace within the borders of their estates. I particularly appreciate the work, in this connection, of the great Baluch Sardars whose traditions of helpfulness to the administration have been well maintained. Your Government has, however, now taken up

vigorously the question of the increase of the police force in the province and has shown by its recent actions that it will not tolerate lawlessness in high places. Sind is a country where respect for religious leaders and for the families of religious leaders is deeply engrained and it would be deplorable if these traditions should operate for the degradation instead of for the uplift of those who follow them.

I thank you once more for the cordial welcome which you have given me today. Before I take leave of you, it is fitting that I should pay a tribute to the wise leadership, the experience and the sound judgment of your Governor, His Excellency Sir Hugh Dow. I do not need to expatiate to you in Sind on his qualities, nor of the admirable assistance and support which he receives from Lady Dow ; nor need I tell you of the sympathetic and understanding guidance which you may expect from them both in the conduct of your daily affairs, the problems of administration and the welfare of your people, whether in wartime or in peace. There are few among you who cannot claim them as old friends of yourselves or of your families. In returning to Sind they have returned as it were to their own country, and you are all aware of the devoted personal care with which your Governor and his Lady have the interests of Sind at heart.

And now, although my all-too-short visit to your province, is not yet over, I bid you good-bye, confident that Sind will bear a worthy part in the supreme endeavour which demands all our energies today. The stakes are high—no less than the continued existence of civilisation as we know it—and I know that you, sharing the fixed determination of all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and of our Allies, will do your utmost to hasten the day of destruction for our enemies, so that we may join once more in the works of peace and the establishment of a new era of goodwill, unity and prosperity here in India and throughout all nations of the world."

43. TO INDIANS IN SINGAPORE

Feb. 6, 1942 *Lord Linlithgow's broadcast to Indians in Singapore on February* 6, 1942 :—

" To each one of you, sons and daughters of India, who are standing shoulder to shoulder with the brave defenders of Singapore I send this message. Just as you may be thinking today of some part of India which you hold dear, so you are at this moment held very clearly and dearly in the hearts and minds of your friends and loved ones here in your motherland. Let that knowledge, and their love and pride, their confidence in you, strengthen you. The safety and honour of India are in your brave hands ; the safety of your homes, your villages, your families, and the honour of your proud and ancient land. You are the wardens of her Eastern gate.

The enemy is treacherous and ruthless, but we in India know that you, and those who are fighting and working by your side, will stand firm and will not give him passage, however long and rough the fight and the trial may be. The forces of the mighty Empire of which you

are members, and of our great allies are gathering strength and will soon enable you to deal much deadlier blows than those which you now endure, until the enemy is utterly destroyed. Be strong, have faith and courage ; carry on your daily work with calm confidence, helping and encouraging one another. God be with you all."

44. WELCOME TO GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

This is a meeting which bodes our enemies no good—a meeting which sets a seal upon the comradeship-in-arms of two great nations—nations which between them number 800,000,000 *souls—one-third of the population of the world—said Lord Linlithgow on February* 9, 1942 *welcoming His Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek on a visit to India :—* **Feb. 9, 1942**

Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek—

In the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I bid you welcome to India.

My Colleagues of the Executive Council of the Government of India are gathered in this room to do honour to a great man, and to a great lady, and to mark a moment which, I am persuaded, will come to be known as a turning point of history. This is a meeting which sets a seal upon the comradeship-in-arms of two great nations—nations which between them number eight hundred million souls—one-third of the population of the world: it is a meeting which bodes our enemies no good, and this they soon will learn to their cost.

I know that I speak for every one of my Colleagues when I say how deeply sensible we are of the honour that Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have done us in voyaging so far, across great mountains and rivers, through all the perils of the air in time of war, to strengthen the ancient links of friendship that stretch across the centuries between China and India.

Geography has set a barrier between our two countries, but civilisation, adventure, the pursuit of spiritual and intellectual freedom—all those elements that go to nourish the spirit of man—have overcome them.

We can trace down the years, throughout the history of our nations, mutual influences, religious, cultural and political, that have made themselves felt from the earliest times to this present day; a day when China, following the path prescribed by the reverend Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder and father of the Republic, and under the leadership of her National Government magnificently inspired by Your Excellency, is opposing so firm a front, so splendid a resistance, to the onset of the barbarians of Japan.

For a long time before we ourselves were privileged to stand as allies by your side in the line of battle, we have had good cause to admire the bravery and staunchness that have characterised China's gallant and unremitting resistance to the aggressors. China's heroism is the inspiration of us all. As one of your own statesmen has recently said, she is the veteran of Asia's fight for freedom. In the maintenance

of that struggle we know well that you, our guests today, have carried the chief burden. Be assured that, to the utmost of our power, we will co-operate with China, even as she is mightily aiding us. I ask Your Excellency to believe that these are not mere words : my Colleagues and I affirm that India's heart is one with China and that we will strive powerfully to discharge our share of the burden in furtherance of our common cause, and so by our added effort, to bring nearer the day when China and the whole British Empire, with our great allies, will march together to the ultimate and inevitable victory.

For us it is a matter for pride and pleasure that, at a moment which the direction of China's war effort into even stronger channels must be claiming your daily attention, you have felt able to undertake this visit to our country. A year ago we were honoured by the presence of the Head of China's Examination Yuan, Dr. Tai Chi-Tao, and from him we learned that, vast though the land of China is, her sons and daughters are all one in their devoted allegiance to their country's cause, in the struggle in which she is at present engaged. We believe that in this shining example of China's unity there is enshrined a jewel of great price, a precious hope and inspiration for all men in a discordant world.

Your Excellency, I must not prolong unduly my words of welcome. You will have opportunity hereafter, I trust, for further meeting and profitable discussions with my Colleagues.

We are privileged now to do honour to the leaders of China's manhood and womanhood, happily in our midst today. India is proud and glad to receive you. From our hearts we hope that we shall be able to make you comfortable here after your arduous journey; that you, and the other distinguished guests whom we are privileged to welcome with you, will derive pleasure and interest, and some rest, during your visit to our land. We believe that incalculable good will come of this meeting not only for India and China but for the whole world. On behalf of India we extend the warmest welcome that our hands and hearts can give to Your Excellency, to Madame, and to all who have accompanied you."

45. CHINA AND INDIA

Feb. 10, 1942

We see now more clearly than before how near are China and India to each other, and how many of the priceless gifts of civilization they have in common—remarked Lord Linlithgow at a Banquet at the Viceroy's House on February 10, 1942 *given in honour of the visit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek :—*

" Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen :

A most wise philosopher—none other than Confucius—has asked ' Is it not delightful to have men of kindred spirit come to one from afar ? '

None of the posterity for whom he wrote could be more deeply conscious of the truth of that sentiment than we who, on this happy occasion, are privileged to welcome among us the two great leaders of the Chinese nation, and their distinguished companions.



The Viceroy, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Lady Linlithgow and a member of the Generalissimo's Staff

The story of China during the last decade cannot be read apart from the names of our guests of honour. They have woven themselves into the heroic pattern of fortitude, determination and united endeavour, which China today holds up, as it were as a banner to the civilised world.

I do not need to remind you of what is already history. Throughout nearly five bitter and strenuous years the Generalissimo and his consort have concentrated and symbolised in their persons the glorious resistance of Free China to the onslaughts of the Japanese aggressor. In a dark hour for the British Empire the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill, once declared that we would fight on 'if necessary for years, and if necessary alone'. China has honourable cause to know the meaning of those words. Standing alone against a powerful and well-prepared enemy, she has kept alight the torch of freedom, and in her heroic struggle our guests of honour have throughout borne the heaviest burden.

That burden is scarcely lighter now, although, thank God, neither they nor we stand alone; for today as Allies, with strength and resources joined, we face the future with renewed determination and confidence. A few weeks ago His Excellency the Generalissimo accepted the Supreme Command over all the Forces of the Allied Nations operating in Chinese theatre of war, which will include Indo-China and Thailand. We are proud indeed that one of the first acts of the Marshal and his wife after the assumption of that great command has been to visit our land of India. Their gracious and courageous gesture sweeps aside the barriers which nature has erected, and causes us to see, perhaps more clearly than before, how near are China and India to each other, and how many of the priceless gifts of civilisation they have in common. In both, the ideals of culture and of kindness prevail: in both the lamp of freedom has been lit: and we in India may well learn from China what can be done by valiant and selfless men and women to survive and overcome the worst shocks of the aggressor and to work together for a common and unselfish end.

Her Excellency Madame Chiang Kai-shek, we know, has been an inspiration not only to the cause of China itself but to the greater world, and most certainly to India. We have heard of her tireless labours in the cause of war relief and in finding homes for refugee children and for the orphans of gallant soldiers killed in the struggle. We know too that she has been frequently exposed to the dangers of war and has accompanied her husband on his campaigns. It is our good fortune that she accompanies him, too, on his errands of friendship, and we are proud to have her with us tonight.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have heard how at this time, when the enemy is threatening the eastern bastion of our fortress, the soldiers of China have come, without hesitation and without stint, to stand by the side of ours on the Burma front. That is the act of a great Ally, and of a brother too. These are the men—and here is their leader—among whose battle honours are inscribed the names of Changsha and Taierchwang. We shall fight this war, therefore, confident and proud

in the knowledge that we shall be with China through rough and smooth, through fair weather and foul until the victorious end. It shall be with us as with John Bunyan's pilgrim :

' Whoso beset him round
With dismal stories
Do but themselves confound
His strength the more is
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent
To be a pilgrim.'

With God's help our pilgrimage, side by side with China and our other mighty Allies, shall not end until the enemy is utterly destroyed, in Asia, in Europe, on the high seas ; until our banners of victory float at last on a free air, purged of tyranny and oppression. There could be no happier augury of that dawn of victory towards which we now march together than the presence with us tonight of the two leaders of China's fight for freedom.

" Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose the health of Their Excellencies Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek."

46. NATIONAL WAR FRONT

Mar. 10, 1942

India is threatened: " this is a call to action for everyone of us."

Lord Linlithgow's message to India on March 10, 1942 :—

" I send this message to all men and women who live in this land, whatever their politics, their religion, or their race. You will be invited, during the next few weeks to enrol yourselves in the National War Front. The land we live in is threatened with danger. This is a call to action for everyone of us. Close the ranks and stand shoulder to shoulder against an aggressor whose conduct in the peaceful countries which he has outraged brands him as barbarous and pitiless.

The soldiers of India in many parts of the world have fought and are fighting gloriously for the safety of their motherland, for the preservation of her ancient inheritance, for the bringing to pass of her hopes for the future. Today the battle front is of great depth, and each one of us can be a soldier too.

Stand steady, encourage the brave, strengthen the faint-hearted, rebuke the babbler and root out the hidden traitor. Make good the defence of the country today ; go forward to victory tomorrow, for without victory, there is no hope for the survival of free institutions, culture, or kindness, in the world. We are members of a worthy company, China, Russia, America, Britain and a score of others. Let each one of us in India be worthy of our own country and of our comrades, for thus shall we make our victory swift and sure. I confide in your courage."

47. PRINCES' PLACE IN INDIAN POLITY

Lord Linlithgow here reviews the progress made by the States in adjusting themselves to rapidly changing currents of world opinion. On this, Lord Linlithgow says, depends " their survival as valued and respected elements in the new Indian polity which has got to be evolved ." The States' handsome contribution to war effort is acknowledged. Address at the opening ceremony of the Chamber of Princes on March 16, 1942 :— **Mar. 16, 1942**

" Your Highnesses,—It is my privilege today to preside, for the fifth time during my tenure of office, over the Chamber of Princes, and it is with real pleasure that I see so goodly a gathering of Your Highnesses assembled here today. My satisfaction is the greater because the time itself demands that those in authority in this country should meet and take counsel for the common good. A good attendance is also appropriate to the celebration, as it were, of the Chamber's coming of age. It is just over 21 years since this Chamber was inaugurated here in Delhi by His late Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the close of whose long career of devoted public service is so fresh in our recollection. I notice that in the course of our proceedings Your Highnesses propose to pay what I know will be something more than a formal tribute to his memory. For myself I will say only this. Few of us who are here today can have been present at that inauguration ceremony, but we shall all do well to bear in mind the eloquent words in which His Royal Highness then described the purpose of this Chamber and the lofty ideals which he set before it. One passage in that historic speech has struck me as peculiarly relevant to the circumstances in which we find ourselves today. His Royal Highness spoke of the King-Emperor's confidence that in good times or evil the fidelity and unswerving support of the Indian Princes could always be counted upon, and recalled how ' when most was needed, most was given .' I am very sure that in the closing months of his long life His Royal Highness must have derived much comfort from the manner in which it has been demonstrated by the present generation of Princes that those words are as true now as they were 21 years ago.

In India, too, we have the loss of old friends and colleagues to mourn. By the death of His late Highness of Cutch the Princely Order has lost a distinguished and venerated member, a Ruler endowed with singular charm of personality, who so long ago as 1921 had the distinction of representing India at the Imperial Council in London, as well as at the Assembly of the League of Nations. We mourn also the passing of Their Highnesses of Cochin, Manipur, Charkhari and Dhrangadhra, to whose bereaved families and States this Chamber will no doubt offer its condolences, as well as a message of welcome to those upon whom their great responsibilities will now devolve. And in this category of new Rulers, to whom we look to carry on the high traditions of their ancestors I would include the young Maharajas of Kolhapur and Bijawar to whom His Majesty's recognition has been accorded since the last meeting of this Chamber.

There is however one sphere in which, for the time being at least, the old order will not change nor give place to new. I refer to

the circumstances, which to the best of my belief are unprecedented, in which Their Highnesses the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber are to continue in their high offices. In the ordinary course of events elections would by now have taken place and the results would have been announced during our present session. A proposal was however made by certain members of the Standing Committee in accordance with a provision to that effect which had been wisely included in the Chamber's Constitution, that the terms of office of the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor should be extended. The views of all members of the Standing Committee were then, as required by the Regulations, formally invited, with the result that, the requisite proportion having signified their consent, Their Highnesses of Nawanagar and Bikaner were asked to continue in office for a second term.

We have an English proverb which tells us that it is unwise to change horses in midstream. At this time we in India are crossing a very turbulent stream and I do indeed feel that it would be regrettable, from the point of view of this Chamber and of the States in general, if we lost the services of these two Princes to whom, if I may speak for Your Highnesses as well as for myself, we all owe so great a debt of gratitude. I do not need to tell you about the treasure house of wisdom and experience which His Highness of Bikaner has acquired in the course of his long and most distinguished career. As for His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib I cannot praise too highly the cheerful alacrity with which he has responded to our incessant demands upon his time and patience. In fact the necessity for his advice and support at headquarters has recurred so frequently that he must have come to look upon Delhi and Simla as a kind of second home. I think therefore that I shall be rightly interpreting the sense of opinion in this Chamber by conveying to both Their Highnesses an expression of our gratitude that, in deference to the wishes of their Brother Princes, they have consented to continue in the performance of their duties as Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor.

I shall refer later to the war situation and to the part played by the Princes in this connection. But in these critical times it behoves us to remember factors which, though not directly connected with the present grave trend of events, are nevertheless of immense importance from the point of view of the Indian States. I refer particularly to the urgent need for the States to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing currents of world opinion, and to leave undone nothing which will help to achieve not only their own healthy development, but also, if I may strike a graver note, their survival as valued and respected elements in the new Indian polity which has yet to be evolved. I shall therefore speak as briefly as possible regarding three matters which, during the past year, have continued to engage the earnest attention of myself and my Advisers—amongst whom I would include your distinguished Chancellor.

First, I regard it as my duty to repeat in as few words as possible what I have said in previous addresses to this Chamber regarding the absolute necessity, so far as the smaller States are concerned, for some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative

efficiency which is beyond their individual resources. In my last address I remarked that steps to this end had already been taken in many parts of India with visible, though not as yet spectacular, results. The last year has seen further and encouraging progress, but I regret to observe that the progress has been mainly apparent in one area only.

Elsewhere there are schemes to this end under consideration; but there are other large areas, comprising many States which in my judgment can certainly not afford to stand aloof in this matter, where no sign of this vital principle of co-operation has yet begun to emerge. It is my duty therefore to urge all concerned to press forward in this matter, and to realise that when I urged upon this Chamber the necessity for some form of pooling of sovereignty I did not do so without full appreciation of the sacrifices involved, nor yet of the gravity of the eventual consequences which my advice was designed to avert.

Secondly, I should let Your Highnesses know that I have had under consideration a scheme designed for the safeguarding, during the initial years of a young Ruler's responsibilities, of standards achieved under periods of minority administration. A definite policy still remains to be formulated; but I have reached the preliminary conclusion that the object in view can best be achieved by a formal constitution under which all State business would be transacted in a Council of Ministers over which the Ruler would normally preside and whose recommendations he would not disregard or override without good reason. So great are the powers and responsibilities to which Rulers succeed at an early age, and so numerous the pitfalls which beset their footsteps, that no one who has the best interest of the States at heart could, in my opinion, take exception to safeguards of this nature, designed as they are mainly for the purpose of inculcating into young Princes the habit of orderly and methodical disposal of business.

Thirdly, and lastly, I should like to say that I was delighted to learn recently that, in spite of all other preoccupations, the vexed question of Civil Lists and Privy Purses has again been receiving the active attention of Your Highnesses. This problem, of deciding what proportion of a State's revenue can appropriately be earmarked for the use of the Ruler and his family, and what precisely are the items which should legitimately come within the scope of Privy Purse expenditure, is one of the greatest complexity and delicacy. The general principle that such distinctions ought to be made was unanimously accepted at the session of this Chamber in 1928 after a full debate on a Resolution very eloquently moved by His Highness of Bikaner. Experience has perhaps since shown how difficult is the task of translating principle into practice. Nevertheless it ought to be tackled with courage and resolution. I applaud, therefore, the foresight and statesmanship of those among Your Highnesses who are making such determined efforts in that direction. It would indeed be a notable achievement if those efforts were to lead to the formulation of some systematic plan likely to commend itself to the Rulers as a body and such as I or my successor could confidently recommend for

acceptance by this Chamber, and thereafter by all individual States. I trust, therefore, that the endeavour will be energetically pursued and that, in order that we may not be at cross purposes in so vital a matter, the Chancellor and Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee will not hesitate to take my Political Adviser into their confidence before the final stage of their deliberations is reached.

I address myself now to the sterner topic of the war and all that it means to us. When I last addressed Your Highnesses, it was my privilege to acknowledge the inestimable value of the co-operation and generous support of the Indian States to the war effort of India as a whole. The last twelve months have seen the war reach the threshold of India and have added greatly to the demands for every kind of service and sacrifice made upon us all. The response of the States to these demands, which must become more insistent as the tempo of the struggle quickens, continues to be worthy of their great traditions ; their contribution covers every field of India's war effort and embraces every form of service. Several of Your Highnesses have visited our Indian troops in different theatres of the war,—visits which have been as highly appreciated by our officers and men as, I am sure, they were instructive and encouraging to Your Highnesses. It is also a matter for special pride that the Princely Order includes some who have served, are serving, or are preparing to serve, as combatants with His Majesty's Forces in the field. There is one particular case which I think Your Highnesses would wish me to mention, namely, that of the eldest son and heir of a member of this Chamber, who met an untimely death in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force. To His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, I would like to offer on behalf of this Chamber as well as from myself a sincere expression of our deepest sympathy.

Apart from the personal service of Rulers and members of their families, the manpower contribution of the States, whether to the Indian Army or their own State Forces, has been of the highest value ; in money their support continues to be generous and unstinted ; in material, be it aircraft, house accommodation, rolling stock, launches, the produce of their forests, mines and factories, or the provision of comforts for the troops, they have done everything in their power to meet, and indeed to anticipate, all of the many calls made on them. Whatever difficulties and dangers lie ahead, I am confident that the great measure of support which the Indian States have given so freely and so spontaneously will be maintained and even augmented.

I referred in my last address to Your Highnesses to the efforts made to keep the Indian States in close touch with current events of importance, and expressed the hope that the steps taken to ensure the closest co-operation between the States and British India would be of mutual benefit. Since then the scope of the measures taken to achieve maximum co-ordination has steadily expanded. The most signal instance of this united front has been the participation of representative Princes in the deliberations of the National Defence Council, and I welcome this opportunity to express my deep appreciation of the

readiness of those Rulers, in spite of their many pressing pre-occupations at this time, to make long journeys to Delhi or Simla in order to lend the prestige of their presence and the weight of their experience to this most important Council of War. I sincerely trust that I may be able to count upon the continuation, at its future meetings, of this personal support, the need and the value of which will now be even greater than before.

I believe too that the representation which the States now enjoy on the Central Price Control Conference and the Provincial Price, Supply and Transport Boards, as well as on the other organisations which I mentioned last year, and the informal discussions which some of Your Highnesses have had, and are about to have, with the Supply, Commerce and Civil Defence Members of my Council, will be of the greatest advantage not only to the States but to the whole of India. To associate the States even more closely with the Central Government, and to place readily and promptly at their disposal the fullest and most up-to-date information on economic, Civil Defence and other matters, direct correspondence between certain Departments of the Government of India and the larger States has been authorised, and an officer has been added to the staff of the Civil Defence Department to deal solely with Civil Defence problems affecting the States. I trust that Your Highnesses will not fail to seek the advice of that Department on the measures which should be taken in your States to provide adequate protection for your subjects against the consequences of attacks from the air. While in some parts of the country that danger may still appear remote, in others it is unquestionably a grim and imminent possibility which must be faced, and the need for making timely and adequate preparations cannot be over-emphasised. I earnestly desire, therefore, to impress upon Your Highnesses the heavy responsibility which each State must shoulder and discharge in this matter which so closely affects the safety of its people.

I am aware that some of Your Highnesses have expressed some disappointment at the shortage of modern arms and equipment available for supply to Indian States Forces training units. Steps have been taken to make good this deficiency so far as the situation permits, but Your Highnesses will agree with me that it must be left to General Headquarters to decide how best such supplies of arms and equipment as are available can be utilised. Some of Your Highnesses have, from time to time, expressed a desire that Indian States Forces units should be given a more active role than had in their judgment been allotted to them. The recent fighting in Malaya, culminating in the fall of Singapore and the loss of many of our valuable troops, including a number of units of the Indian States Forces, will I think, have convinced Your Highnesses that a regiment employed in such a role as guarding an aerodrome is rendering vitally important service, and may at any moment find itself at grips with the enemy. I trust, therefore, that Your Highnesses will appreciate that all of your units serving with His Majesty's Forces, whatever role be allotted to them, are contributing with equal value to the common object. When I addressed you in this Chamber last year, I said, in referring to the different conditions

of service obtaining in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army, that 'in uniformity lies simplicity and efficiency.' Since then several proposals of importance to that end have been made to States maintaining Indian States Forces and have been accepted, although in certain cases with some reluctance and delay. I fully realise that proposals designed to eliminate such differences as still exist between the conditions of service in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army may not always be welcome, but I wish to assure Your Highnesses that they are made solely with a view to increasing the efficiency of the Indian States Forces and are intended to have effect only for the duration of the war, after which the whole scheme under which those Forces are embodied will come under review in the light of the experience gained. Meanwhile, in the present grave emergency I am confident that Your Highnesses will not hesitate to agree temporarily to forego, in the common interest, prerogatives and privileges, however greatly they may be valued, should they in any way impede India's war effort. I desire, in this connection, to mention particularly the commendable action of certain States in the Eastern States Agency in voluntarily delegating authority to the Resident to make decisions on their behalf in matters affecting the military situation, provided that such decisions are communicated to them immediately afterwards.

The flower of India's manhood is to be found today in the Indian Amy and the Indian States Forces, but I need not remind Your Highnesses that a constant stream of reinforcements must be maintained and that the need for augmenting our present forces is insistent. Above all, young men of the best type are required to come forward and be trained to lead our troops ; modern war demands a high degree of training and initiative from military leaders, and I hope that Your Highnesses will do everything in your power to ensure that institutions such as the Pre-Cadet School at Indore, which have been set up to enlarge the supply of potential officers are fully supported. I trust also that your Highnesses will not allow the need to maintain a reasonable margin of safety in regard to your local arrangements for internal security unduly to hamper the making of the utmost possible contribution to the forces which India requires to repel external aggression ; regard to local arrangements for internal security is natural and prudent, but in the present emergency the interests and safety of India as a whole demand that every able-bodied man and every unit that is not essentially required for the maintenance of internal tranquillity should be made available to resist and attack and finally to defeat the common enemy.

That final victory is only a matter of time would emphasise that the speed and success with which that goal will be attained, and in fact the very safety of India, her dignity and her standing in the eyes of the world, will in no small measure depend upon the attitude of her people to the threat of aggression. There has been peace in this land for so long a period that we had perhaps become too prone to believe that nothing could disturb it, too sceptical of the need for making sacrifices for its preservation. That peace is now rudely threatened, and it behoves us all, and not least Your Highnesses, who are the

hereditary wardens of India's martial traditions, to show that India has the strength and determination to face and defeat the common enemy. With that in view I earnestly invite the support and co-operation of Your Highnesses in the National War Front. Your Highnesses will have read my message. The objects of the National War Front—which I believe will attract innumerable adherents throughout the length and breadth of India—are to maintain public morale, to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it; and in particular to counteract fifth-column activities of all kinds, including all talk, thought, writings and rumours likely to encourage a defeatist outlook; to inculcate faith, courage and endurance; and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form, whether within or without the country, until their menace is finally overthrown. I trust that the National War Front will derive its strength and vitality from the patriotism of private citizens and public-spirited leaders. It will be their task not only to resist the insidious forces of evil but to assume the initiative and to inculcate the principle that no form of defence is more effective than attack.

The indomitable Prime Minister of Great Britain has asked :—'what sort of people do our enemies think we are?' Our enemies shall learn, if they have not learnt already to their cost, what kind of men this land of India breeds. India has vast material resources. She has mighty Allies. She has a great soldier for her Commander-in-Chief. She has the loyalty and bravery of her sons who are heirs to the superb traditions of the Indian Army and who are already writing the first chapters of a glorious record for the Royal Indian Navy and the Indian Air Force. Within the last few days India has received a message of new hope for all who look to see her take her rightful place among the free nations of the world. There is now coming to us across the world a Minister who, in Mr. Churchill's words, carries the full confidence of His Majesty's Government and will strive in their name to secure the necessary measure of assent to the conclusions on which they are agreed. In Sir Stafford Cripps India has a trusted friend on whose fairness she can rely, a statesman who has already carried out with conspicuous success one important mission in a distant land, and who is animated with a burning zeal for the defeat and final extinction of the aggressors and all they stand for. Your Highnesses can count on his readiness to give the fullest consideration to the views which you will doubtless lay before him and I know that I can rely on you to give him a warm welcome and your wholehearted co-operation in the discharge of his great responsibilities. For you know full well that on you, the representatives of Princely India, lies, as on us all, an obligation to secure for India a triumphant and happy issue out of this, her testing time of trial and danger."

48. "PROUD TO BE YOUR PRESIDENT"

Mar. 23, 1942

Extracts from Address to the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Indian Red Cross Society and the Central Joint War Committee on March 23, 1942 :—

"During the last six years I have watched with close personal interest the development of your organisations. The great work to which you have set your hand and all that you have achieved, especially during the last 2½ years of war, make me proud to be your President. I am particularly glad to think that the extension of my office, to which such kind reference has been made, will give me an opportunity of prolonging my close association with you for another year.

Sir Cameron Badenoch has described a year of progress and activity by the St. John Ambulance Organisation and Brigade. The advantages of the training given by the Association are now widely recognised, and I am glad to observe that the number of people trained in first-aid and home nursing this year is a record.

In various provinces during the past year I have been privileged to see members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade on parade, and on every occasion I was much impressed by their bearing and the quality of their work. I would like especially to mention the useful work of the Transport Units at the various Ports, and the Auxiliary Nursing Service which has played such an important part in the expansion of the military nursing services.

It was a fine spirit too, and in the best tradition of the fellowship of St. John, which inspired the Medical Unit which recently volunteered to go from Madras to the relief of air-raid victims in Rangoon.

In these times the war and all the problems which flow from it naturally have the first call on our energies and resources. It is all the more to the credit of the Indian Red Cross Society that it has not been prevented from going steadily forward with its peace-time activities, including maternity and child welfare work. Among its many other activities it is worthy of note that the Society was able to send 10,000 doses of plague vaccine to China, and medical stores of various kinds to Russia. These are striking examples of the manner in which the Society has been able to help our Allies, and we may be sure that this is only a beginning.

We have all listened with special interest to Sir Bertrand Moberly's account of the work of the Joint War Organisation. When I spoke to you last year I said that difficulties might be expected. During the year your Committee has had to face new difficulties and unexpected demands which greatly strained their resources. Nevertheless, the record of the year's work is one of achievement, for which General Moberly and those associated with him deserve all credit.

Our thanks are particularly due to Colonel Sir Richard Needham, the Red Cross Commissioner in the Middle East, who has had a most difficult task in the areas for which he is responsible and who has done it well. We are grateful, too, to Lady Ward for her ready and generous help at a critical time in Iraq.

Major-General Macrae, who, as the Red Cross Commissioner in Malaya, had, with his staff, worked hard to build up an efficient organisation, is a very real loss. To him and to his helpers, you will, I know, wish to convey a special message of gratitude and sympathy.

There are now over 1,000 work parties in India, and I would like to pay my tribute to the splendid voluntary work which they are doing. But it is not enough. Twice as many work parties and four times the present output in bandages, surgical dressings, hospital clothing and ward accessories will scarcely be enough if we are to be prepared to meet every call which may be made upon us. I look to you, ladies and gentlemen, to see that if the call should come, our effort shall not fall short.

I sometimes feel that India, and the world outside, should be told more of what the Joint War Organisation is doing, and what it intends to do, and what its requirements are. Meetings such as this attract some publicity, of course ; but this only happens once a year. I hope that those among you who are interested in publicity will bear in mind what I have said, and will do your utmost, all the time, to keep the work of the Joint Committee and of the two organisations before the public eye, to explain and interpret it to the public, and thus to enlist their whole-hearted appreciation and support.

The great expansion of work and responsibility which has marked the past year has thrown a heavy burden on the finances of the Joint War Organisation, and has, I know, been a source of anxiety to the Honorary Treasurers. Contributions from my War Purposes Fund have met the cost of sending weekly parcels to the 2,000 Indian prisoners of war in Germany ; it has assisted, too, in meeting the cost of despatch of parcels to Geneva, for which admirable work is being done by voluntary workers in Bombay. But during 1942 commitments in every direction will undoubtedly be vastly increased owing, principally, to the large number of our soldiers captured in Malaya, as well as civilians interned there, for whom provision will have to be made.

We shall, of course, have to enlist the help of Government, but voluntary effort and private generosity will still have to be the means of conveying that extra food and clothing which does so much to make the life of a prisoner of war more endurable. I have had a generous response from the Governors of Provinces whom I asked to guarantee from their War Funds a regular income for the Red Cross Organisation ; my own War Purposes Fund, too, is always ready to help, and your committees need never feel that they must curtail their beneficent activities owing to lack of funds ; but when the full extent of our commitments is apparent, I may have to make a further

appeal to the people of this country for large sums of money. I have no doubt that their response will be at least as generous as it has been in the past, for that money will be spent on the relief and succour of men of this country whose deeds have already made history in many distant lands.

Whatever this year may have in store for us—and the test will not be a light one—I feel that we have established organisations which, inspired by unselfishness, imagination and generosity, which are the three springs from which all humanitarian enterprise flows, will answer speedily and effectively every call that may be made upon them. I am confident that the Red Cross and the St. John Ambulance Association in India will be true to their fine and ancient traditions and will not be found wanting in the critical times which lie ahead of us.

In that firm belief and trust, I thank you all for what you have done and I wish you every success in your future endeavours."

49. FOOD DRIVE

April 6, 1942

Message to the "Food Drive" Conference on April 6, 1942 :—

"I am grateful to all the representatives of Provinces and States, who, by coming to Delhi at short notice, and in some cases, I fear, not without personal inconvenience, have made it possible to convene this important Conference.

The problems before you are urgent, and their solution will be a vital contribution to this country's war effort.

India, fortunately, has so far escaped the ravages of war as other lands have known them, and we have not, so far, had to resort to rationing or curtailing those essential food supplies which countries elsewhere have had to forego. But today the war is at our gates, and if we are to maintain our position in this respect, it is imperative that we should aim not only at self-sufficiency, national as well as regional, in foodstuffs and animal fodder, but also at increased production all round, to meet our growing commitments. The best results can only be achieved by planning on an all-India basis.

The task before you, therefore, is no light one; but I am sure that you will undertake it with vigour and despatch, and with a full appreciation of its urgency. I hope that ready co-operation will be forthcoming from Provinces and States to implement your recommendations.

I am sure too that the planned agricultural policy which your deliberations should produce will be not only an important contribution to India's war effort, but will also prove of lasting benefit to her when victory has brought us peace once more. India is, and for a long time yet, is likely to be mainly an agricultural country, and her prosperity will greatly depend on the care and forethought which she devotes to her major industry.

I wish you all success in your endeavours."

50. INDIA'S UNARMED FORCES

"We are unarmed, what can we do? Let Government put arms in our hands and we shall spring to the defence of India like one man." To this, Lord Linlithgow replies in a broadcast on the National War Front on May 7, 1942. **May 7, 1942**

"The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign," he says.

For National War Front, he enunciates a creed to which every Indian could subscribe "without sacrificing a single principle or abandoning a single aim." Text of the broadcast :—

"Early in March, just after Rangoon had fallen, I sent you a message. The war had arrived at India's gates and had suddenly become the affair of each one of us, not as spectators but as combatants in our several fields. I invited you to close the ranks and stand steady behind the fighting men in a national war front against the aggressor. Since then much has happened; India's own soil has been attacked and our capacity to "take it," as others have taken it, has been tried. Ceylon has been attacked and a Japanese fleet has ranged the Bay of Bengal, sinking our ships and drowning our seamen. True, it has withdrawn for the moment. Depend upon it, it will come back. In Burma the Japanese are in Lashio and Mandalay. But, on the whole we many consider ourselves lucky in that we have had a long respite before the real attack begins. For that we have mainly to thank General Alexander and the Indian, British and Chinese forces who, outnumbered and cut off from reinforcements of men and supplies, have by an epic resistance won us what we so greatly needed, time. General Wavell, in his inspiring talk a fortnight ago, told you what good use was being made of this breathing space. The military and air strength of India is growing daily. Under a Commander in whom we all have implicit confidence, our armed forces are going to give a good account of themselves against any attack that our enemy is able to launch.

What of the rest of us, the unarmed forces of the country? Are we going to give a good account of ourselves? Not, I suggest, unless we stand shoulder to shoulder and work actively for the common cause. I have often heard it said lately 'We are unarmed; what can we do? Let Government put arms in our hands and we will spring to the defence of India like one man.' Well, here is my answer to that. Were the people of Great Britain armed in June 1940? Were the people of Russia armed in June 1941? During the long agony of China have ordinary men had arms in their hands? The answer is, 'No.' The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign.

The activities of irregular bands operating behind an enemy's advancing line can be of very great value provided they are fully trained for this most exacting task. This phase of warfare is being developed and will be more fully developed as arms become available.

Meanwhile the position is that the expansion of the regular army proceeds apace, and we put no limit on it. We require therefore for fully trained soldiers all the modern arms that are available.

What then can we, the unarmed forces of the country, do? Let me remind you of what General Wavell has said: that of the elements which contribute to success in modern war, the spirit of the people is the most important. That is our responsibility, yours and mine, and that is why I invite you again to join together in building a national war front. I do not care whether we spell this with capital letters; I do not care, in fact, what we call it. We all know what it means, a united determination, transcending all racial, religious and political differences, to stand up and stand together to defend the things we have and hope to have and to make sure that they shall never be so threatened again.

I used the word 'build,' for India's war front will not come into being just by wishing or talking, but only by doing. Two things—and two things only—are needed, the will to unite and the will to act. I see no difficulty in finding unity: there is nothing in our objects to which any one need hesitate to subscribe, unless, indeed, he sympathises with the way of life which our enemies would impose on the world—and to such I make no appeal. These are the objects which those who join us will adopt as their own:—

To do everything possible to help and maintain public morale, that is to say, to strengthen the war resistance of the people; to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it, and in particular to counteract fifth column activities of all kinds, including all talk, thought, writings and rumours likely to produce a defeatist mentality; to inculcate faith, courage and endurance, and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form, whether within or without the country, until their menace in finally overthrown.

I say with confidence that every man and woman in this country can subscribe to a creed such as this, without sacrificing a single principle or abandoning a single aim.

Many people ask the question: 'What can I do?,' not, I know, as an excuse for doing nothing, but in genuine uncertainty. Let them reflect that in a war like this there is hardly anything which a man does or omits to do which does not help or hinder victory. To those for whom a place in the armed forces is waiting, I say 'Fill it quickly.' For the rest of us there are opportunities galore; the Civil Defence Forces are crying out for wardens, fire-watchers, doctors, nurses, ambulance men, helpers of all kind. Civic or Home Guards and Pioneers need men. Women are wanted in hospitals, in offices and to run canteens for troops. There are refugees to be helped. Let us look into our daily lives: are we wasting money, food, clothes, electricity, petrol, coal? If we are, we are delaying victory. Do we travel when we need not do so taking up space badly required for troops and munitions of war? Are we farmers? Then can we not grow more food grains? Are we factory hands? Then are

we working our utmost ? Whoever we are rich men, poor men, officers, clerks, business men, labourers, housewives, servants, be sure there is something which we can do which will hasten the day of victory. A determination cheerfully to do our best in fulfilment of the ordinary humdrum tasks and duties of our daily lives, and to continue in this despite any attempt by the enemy or his agents to disturb or frighten us, is for many of us the greatest contribution that we can make towards winning the war. Do not forget what even one day added on to the war means in terms of human suffering and material loss.

We must achieve unity and action and we must combine in a spirit of attack. Passive defence or masterly withdrawals, forced on us as they are at times, do not win wars. Let us attack our work, attack the rumour-monger, attack the defeatist. We must make our front an attacking front, and think always in terms of the offensive.

There is no one in India who does not know that, if all what we value is to survive, if hope is not to die, this war *must* be won ; every thinking man knows that, with the resources which the United Nations have, it *can* be won ; whether it *will* be won or not depends on ourselves. So let us build the War Front in India, while there is yet time. And let me end by commending to you two lines which my wife quoted in a speech some time ago—

' Look in your hearts, make inquisition there
Of service done in this supreme of hours.' "

51. CIVIL SERVICES OF INDIA

" Yours is a brotherhood of service the like of which the world has never seen before." Lord Linlithgow's message to the Civil Services of India on May 21, 1942 :— **May 21, 1942**

" A little more than six years ago, I spoke to you, who are members of the Civil Services of India. I asked you to give to the people of India the best that is in you, to the limits of your strength, in the difficult years to come. I spoke to you at a time of peace, when none of us knew what grave events and what tremendous problems the years would bring. I asked you then for your support and help ; and, in peace and war, I have had it in full measure. From the bottom of my heart I thank you for it.

Yours is a brotherhood of service the like of which the world has never seen before. Men of different race and religion, Indians and Britons, highly trained and carefully chosen for your respective duties, you are linked together by common allegiance to one Crown and pledged to the service of millions of your fellow-men, in many different fields,—Engineers, Doctors, Foresters, Scientists, Educationists, Policemen, Judges, Administrators and many others. You and your predecessors have set high standards of loyalty, impartiality, sound judgment, humanity, an unselfish example and a co-operative spirit. But the steadiness with which you preserve in these the torch which

you hold up in India can be a bright flame of hope and encouragement in a distracted world.

Hard work, great responsibilities, often danger and discomfort, are your lot. In spite of this, I know well how keenly disappointed many of you are that you are not allowed at this time to serve your country on the battlefield. But let none of you think for a moment that he is not fighting for his country by steadily pursuing his appointed task, however prosaic and unspectacular that may seem to be, and by shouldering cheerfully the additional burdens of the war. The rule of law, peace and security for the citizen, and the progress of civilized arts and science which it is your task to promote and guard, are the very conditions of decent living for which we are all fighting. For the sake of the future and for the maintenance of public morale today; for the safety and well-being of many helpless peoples who depend upon you there must be no interruption of your work. If you were to slacken or falter you would betray the common cause as surely as a soldier who deserts his post; and that I know you will never willingly do.

Remember that the individual soldier can see only a small part of the battlefield: remember, too, that although the lime-light may not fall your way, the eyes of the people are fixed on you, and their temper and steadiness, if trouble should come, will greatly depend upon your leadership and your example. Be with them as much as possible. Serve and comfort them always. Put away doubts, and face whatever trials the future may bring with high hearts and a firm resolve to give the best you have got, and better still, of body and mind in whatever field your duty may be set. You are heirs to great traditions of courage and service, which you will not fail; and today it is in the power of each of you to add a splendid page to the record.

Victory is assured, but single-minded endeavour now can bring the day of victory nearer. There is work enough for each one of you today: and when the swords are sheathed again, and a new world has to be built, there will be no lack of opportunity to share that great task, I promise you, for devoted and unselfish men and women in this India which you serve."

52. IN THE LAND OF MARTIAL CLANS

Oct. 19, 1942

Reply to the Address of Welcome at the Rawalpindi Durbar on October 19, 1942:—

" Your Excellency and Gentlemen,

No man could witness unmoved a gathering such as yours today, in this famous Division of a famous Province; and it is with deep gratitude and pride that I, your Viceroy, have listened to your words of welcome and to the splendid record of your achievements.

Wherever in the world there is talk of brave deeds and soldier-like qualities, of endurance and fortitude, the men of this land are brought to mind. Here for centuries generations of sturdy farmers

have won their harvests from the hard earth, and have defended their heritage with courage and resolution. Since the dawn of history India has bred famous soldiers; the hills and plains which surround us can justly claim to be a cradle of heroes, a soil which has nourished the flower of India's armies. There are among us today brave men who fought for freedom and civilization in the last World War, and now that these two precious jewels are in peril once again, their sons and grandsons are keeping bright and sharp the sword they forged and are facing our common enemies with the same stout shield.

On every battlefield of this war, where our armies are fighting and have fought, Punjabis have won fresh laurels: in France and the Middle East, in East Africa, in the Far East and in Burma. And where our armies stand on guard, or eagerly await the order to attack, there are Punjabis to be found, valiant wardens of their native land and loyal upholders of the United Nations' cause.

Foremost among them are the men whom the martial clans of this Division have sent forth. Your record of recruitment is magnificent, and you and your Recruiting Staff are justly proud of it. Your young men, following the honourable path of service which their fathers trod, have discovered that modern war gives them new weapons to master, and strange elements in which to excel. But, whether in the Royal Indian Navy, where they are so strongly represented, or in the Indian Air Force, or handling tanks and carriers with the same skill and confidence as a few years ago they rode their horses the fighting men of the Punjab today nobly maintain and enhance the great traditions to which they are worthy heirs.

'The fighting man,' as a young Englishman, who was killed in the last war, wrote—

'The fighting man shall from the Sun,
Take warmth, and life from the glowing earth;
Speed with the lightfoot winds to run,
And with the trees to newer birth;
And find, when fighting shall be done,
Great rest, and fulness after dearth.'

I believe that our soldiers will have found something else as well, something of great value in the task which will still face us all, once victory is ours, the task of setting right a shattered and disjointed world. They will have discovered unity of purpose and of endeavour. Such unity, though it may sometimes seem to be hidden unfathomably deep in India, is not, I believe, really so far below the surface. Certainly the war is day by day developing a very real sense of its urgency and importance in the minds of all thinking men. And among India's fighting men, the comradeship and loyalty of the battlefield will have engendered so strong a sense of unity with their brothers in arms, not only of Indian race, but of all peoples of the United Nations too, that, please God, when fighting is over, it will remain as one of the fruits of victory to inspire and illumine all our endeavours in the post-war world with a spirit of co-operation and goodwill.

I have said before that in modern warfare the battle front is of infinite depth. It runs through the homes and lives of all of us, and there is not a man, woman or child that cannot play a useful part. War, as you know, is not all fighting. Much of it has always been the unspectacular business of watching and waiting, of training and preparation, of co-operation in a thousand different ways behind the lines. In modern warfare particularly, a very important part is the attitude of mind of the peoples engaged, soldiers and civil population alike; a sense of realities, a determination never to yield to despair or impatience, which we call morale. The National War Front in India, a movement which is gaining in strength from day to day provides an opportunity for every one of us to bear a share in building up and maintaining that spirit of confidence, resolution and co-operation throughout the country, which is such a powerful support for the soldier in the front line.

You in Rawalpindi, who naturally look at these things through soldiers' eyes, will realise the importance of what I say. I was most encouraged to hear of the many ways in which, besides the supply of recruits to the fighting forces you have been mightily aiding the war effort; in your A.R.P. preparations and in the activities of your Civic Guards; in your splendid contributions to War Funds; in Red Cross and St. John Ambulance work. And I would like to mention the work of the Punjab Police who, supported by your good sense and the firm and consistent policy of the Ministry, have contributed so much to the peaceful record of the Punjab during the recent disturbances and have done so much to maintain security in the villages from which the young men have gone forth to war.

May I remind you, too, that many of you who have to remain at home can admirably support the men who are fighting for you by looking after their interests while they are away, by helping the families of men who have gone overseas, by succouring the wounded and comforting the bereaved? This you can do on your own initiative in the villages, and by co-operation with the Civil authorities, the Civil Liaison Organisation and the District Soldiers' Boards, whose efforts can only bear fruit if they are freely given the help and goodwill of the people.

Among the advantages of a soldier's training I give a high place to a certain steadiness of outlook and sound commonsense, which no good soldier lacks. Throughout the ages these sterling yeoman qualities, ingrained as they are in the people of this Province, have caused the Punjab to play a solid, and exemplary and a distinguished part in the history of India's political and constitutional progress. The Punjab is fortunate in its leaders. You have a Governor, Sir Bertrand Glancy, of ripe experience and ready sympathy: you have a Prime Minister (a great Prime Minister, if I may say so, and a man of your own Division) possessed of wise counsel and keen imagination; and you have Ministers endowed with great industry and sound political sense. In this Division you are particularly fortunate for, as I have already mentioned, from Attock comes Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, under whose guidance and that of Sir Mohd. Nawaz Khan the district

has done splendidly. In Rawalpindi Captain Tikka Khan and many others have contributed to the wonderful recruiting record. Jhelum is proud of the military prowess of Colonel Sir Sher Mohd. Khan, now commanding a battalion ; Gujrat looks for guidance in the war effort and in many other things to Nawab Sir Fazal Ali; while in Shahpur there is that famous old soldier General Sir Umar Hayat Khan whose son, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, is doing such admirable work as a Minister of the Punjab Government. The Division has been fortunate too in its Cómmissioner, Mr. Marsden, who has held that important post since before the war began. With unflagging energy and with the full support of an able team of Deputy Commissioners and many other officials in all the departments, he has been stimulating the war effort in every district. They all deserve great credit for what has been achieved and it is most gratifying to hear the work of your officials so highly praised everywhere.

Under the leadership of men like these the qualities which I have mentioned, the gift of keeping both feet on the ground and the eyes fixed on realities, have enabled the Punjab today to maintain peace and order, and to continue steadily with its great war effort, while in other parts of India ill and misguided counsels have led so many to the bitter and poisonous waters of civil commotion. By their steadfastness and commonsense Punjabis, and those of the Rawalpindi Division as much as any, are helping to bring near the day of victory for the United Nations, and for all India the day on which she shall enter into her promised heritage.

The land of the Five Rivers breeds a race of mighty wrestlers, who know what courage and endurance means. We are now grappled in a mortal struggle with a powerful adversary, skilled in the use of many a trick and foul throw. We have wrestled all through the night, and once or twice we have been nearly thrown. But we have our enemy firmly now and as the day dawns his breath begins to come short and fast. Let us hold on grimly and watch for our opportunity. All our training, our stubbornness, our confidence and enthusiasm will have its reward. Soon now we shall throw him, and it will be a mighty fall. He will never rise again and we shall stand forth at last victors, and free men in a free world."

53. FIRST VISIT TO BALUCHISTAN

Lord Linlithgow had at last, on October 22, 1942, an opportunity, looked forward to for so long during his Viceroyalty, of visiting Baluchistan. Reply to Address of Welcome presented by the Shahi Jirga and the Municipal Committee at Quetta :—* **Oct. 22, 1942**

"Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, Ladies and Gentlemen ,—I am most grateful for the reception which you have given me, and I am delighted that I have at last had the opportunity, to which I have looked forward for so long, of visiting Baluchistan and the city of Quetta. I thank you, members of the Shahi Jirga, leaders and representatives

* A "Jirga" is a council of elders in North-West Frontier.

of the tribes of Baluchistan, for your kind words of welcome, and for your loyal assurances. You have given practical expression to your loyalty in the co-operation which you have extended to the local administration, not only by maintaining peace and order among your tribes, but also by producing recruits for the Camel Corps, labour for defence works and additional levies for the protection of Government property and installations. I fully appreciate your concern that the natural resources of Baluchistan should be developed to the greatest extent, and indeed it would be in the interests not only of this Province, but of the rest of India too, if it were possible to make full use of its mineral wealth, and in particular of its coal. I assure you that this matter shall have the close attention of my Government. I hope too, that with a view to increasing the self-sufficiency of this area, the importance of increasing the production of food crops will not be forgotten, within the limits prescribed by the facilities for irrigation.

I deeply appreciate the contribution which under your guidance the people of Baluchistan have made and are making to the war effort of India, and not least, at this time especially, by the steadiness and sturdy commonsense with which they have refused to allow the internal peace and order which prevails in this Province to be disturbed.

I am grateful to you, members of the Quetta Municipal Committee, for your cordial welcome. I well know the difficulties which have faced you in recent years; first from the effects of the great earthquake, then the war and now the interruption of communications caused by this summer's floods in Sind.

You are entitled not only to sympathy but to admiration too, for the energy and imagination with which you have grappled with this succession of problems, and I am glad to learn that your handling of the supply arrangements and the rationing of essential commodities has not been without success. I need not assure you that I shall continue to watch the position with keen personal interest, and shall give such assistance as I can to your efforts to obtain what you require from outside.

You have reason to congratulate yourselves on the remarkable figures which you have quoted of Baluchistan's financial contribution to the war effort. Part of your contribution has taken very tangible and practical shape as armoured carriers, and I deeply appreciate the steady support which my War Purposes Fund continues to receive from this Province.

I appreciate, too, the helpful attitude of the Municipal Committee towards the measures which have to be taken for air raid precautions. I am glad of the opportunity which I have just had of inspecting your A.R.P. Services: they are a workmanlike body of men and women and I know that should the need arise for them to put into practice all that they have learnt during their long months of training and preparation, they will amply prove their worth.

I know the difficulties in recruiting and training such services in an area where the population is to a great extent migratory, but I would like to express my keen appreciation of what has been achieved, and to say that the citizens of Quetta owe a debt of gratitude to these public-spirited men and women who have given up their leisure to prepare themselves for the defence of the lives and property of their fellows. It is an example which deserves not only praise and gratitude, but emulation, and there are still many among your fellow-citizens who could afford to join their ranks, and vie with them in their enthusiasm and their determination to contribute their utmost to the winning of the war.

This is a war of all the people, of every man, woman and child, in whatever walk of life, however far from the battle zone. Let each one of you remember that your individual effort, added to the joint effort of the many millions of the people of the United Nations can shorten the war by bringing nearer the triumph of our arms, by a day, an hour, a minute. There is not a moment to be lost: for in modern warfare, which is total war, the hastening of victory by a day or an hour may mean the saving of hundreds or thousands of lives.

The National War Front, which is gaining so steadily in strength throughout India, is a front on which you can all fight. Scotch idle rumour and scorn the insidious and lying propaganda of the enemy. Build up a strong bulwark in your hearts of confidence and resolution. Take courage from the certainties which are before your eyes. We have been swimming against a strong current, but the tide is surely turning now. At one time we fought alone, but look now at the great peoples and armies of our Allies who are by our side: the people of the United States, of Russia, of China, and many others. Consider the mighty armaments which we are accumulating day by day and with which we shall soon outstrip and overwhelm the enemy. He is still strong and formidable, but he is becoming desperate, and his days are numbered. His strength is the strength of ruthlessness, oppression, cruelty and treachery, but our strength is the strength of all free men, and our cause is just.

Hold on then, grimly and with determination. Put every ounce of your strength, of body and mind, into a supreme effort, and you will find that the day is not far distant when we, with our Allies, shall sweep forward like an irresistible flood which will drown deep the forces of evil and wash the memory of their foulness for ever from the earth.

My time in India is drawing to an end—in a few months now I hand over to my successor. Let me say how great a pleasure it has been to me before the close of my Viceroyalty to have been able to visit Baluchistan, to see for myself the progress of reconstruction here, and the invaluable contribution that the Province is making to the prosecution of the war."

54. UNITY IS PRE-REQUISITE OF PROGRESS

Dec. 17, 1942

"We are familiar with the suggestion", said Lord Linlithgow in his farewell address to the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 17, 1942, "that the troubles of India are due to Great Britain's refusal to part with power. I would say exactly the contrary. Those troubles are due to Great Britain's expressed readiness to part with power."

"I can myself claim", said His Excellency, "to have brought together Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, though unhappily without result. I have worked very hard, if unsuccessfully, to bridge the gulf between parties, interests and communities."

"Geographically India, for practical purposes, is one. I would judge it to be as important as it ever was in the past, nay more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and the legitimate claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small," urged His Excellency.

Lord Linlithgow referred to Sir Stafford Cripps Mission, "the latest evidence of the sincerity of His Majesty's Government" in the matter of India's political future and the proposals carried by him, "reasonable proposals" according to the verdict of world opinion, "proposals the genuineness and the profound importance of which could not be questioned"; but they failed to secure agreement.

In any case, the Governor-General's Executive Council had been materially enlarged. Further, the National Defence Council, "a very highly qualified body, representative of all the provinces of British India as well as of the Indian States" had been established. Taking the measures of the previous three years together, Lord Linlithgow claimed that a very material and a very real advance in the association of non-official Indians with the Government had been made despite the decision to suspend the federal scheme.

The year 1942 had been at times of deep anxiety, whether in terms of the internal or external situation. The Government had to deal with "an uprising, consequent on the programme of the leaders of the Congress Party, of great gravity and great severity. That uprising which had no support from great sections of the Hindu community, from which the Muslim community and other important parts of the population of India dissociated themselves, which affected only in the smallest degree the Indian States, was perhaps the work of a numerically small but very important section". At a time when the efforts of all were directed to India's protection against Japanese aggression, the damage and destruction caused by that small section resulted in a serious diversion of military forces and an interruption, deeply to be regretted, in the war effort. Text of address:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

As you have reminded me, this is the seventh occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. It is an occasion to which throughout my Viceroyalty I have always looked forward, and an opportunity

which I deeply value of talking to you, Gentlemen, on the great problems of the day. This is the last time that that honour will fall to me, for though, as your President has so kindly said, the King has been pleased to ask me to retain my present office for a further period, by the time that the Associated Chambers next hold their annual meeting I shall no longer be in India. I welcome all the more your kindness today in inviting me to be present and thus giving me the opportunity to take farewell of the Associated Chambers, and to thank them for all the invaluable help and co-operation that they, and those for whom they stand in this country, have given me through seven long and anxious years.

Before I proceed to the business of my speech, I would like to associate myself most warmly with what you said about His Excellency the Governor, Sir John Herbert, whom we are so glad to see here today, and about Lady Mary. He has had an anxious and difficult time as the Governor of this great Presidency at a time when Bengal, and Eastern India as a whole, have been in the front line. We owe him a great debt for his energy, his interest, and his constant anxiety to see that everything possible is done to safeguard his charge, and to protect a vital bastion of India's defence. And we all of us know how constant and how invaluable has been the help lent him by Lady Mary Herbert in all good causes in Bengal.

In your speech, Sir, you have touched on a number of matters of great interest and importance. You took occasion, if I may deal with that matter in the first place, to sound a note of warning against the withdrawal of all incentive from private enterprise, and in this connection you cited the policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to a rebate of excess profits tax. As you are aware, the policy of the Government of India in regard to the rate of the excess profits tax in this country has been markedly more generous than in some parts of the Empire, or than in the United Kingdom. For its effect is to leave to an enterprise in this country, subject of course to income-tax and super-tax, one-third of the excess profits, in addition to the whole of the profits of the most favourable standard period or, in the case of new concerns, a generous percentage on the invested capital. I venture to think that in the conditions created by a total war the incentive thus left to private enterprise is very real. I would claim indeed that it is as great as could reasonably be expected. And you are aware, gentlemen, too, that arrangements exist under which a rebate of excess profits tax to be paid after the war can be obtained by depositing twice the amount of the rebate with Government at 2 per cent. interest for the period of the war and one year thereafter. Action on these lines would seem to be a wise precaution on the part of industry and as profitable as wise. I trust sincerely therefore that industrialists will utilise the concession which has been offered. For by doing so not only will they benefit themselves. They will help to achieve the immobilisation for the period of the war of as much as possible of the excess profits earned during the war, and so to reduce the pressure of enhanced purchasing power on the general price level; and they will in that way make a material contribution to the country's interest.

And in that connection let me refer to the risk of an inflationary rise of prices. That is an issue of vital importance, and one which is continually present to my advisers. It is one in which responsibility lies as heavily on the public as it does on the Government. Few will deny that production must continue at maximum intensity, and must expand wherever possible in the interests of the war effort. But that inevitably means the existence in the country of a great and continually growing volume of purchasing power, since payment for everything that is produced must be made in rupees in India, whether the expenditure is incurred on Indian account, or on account of His Majesty's Government, or for the purpose of reciprocal aid to the forces of the United States of America stationed here. The actual allocation of cost has no relevance in this connection, and the problem will clearly be with us on a continually growing scale for at least as long as the war lasts.

I would like if I may to emphasise again that for a solution of this difficult and important problem the Government must be able to rely on the utmost assistance, co-operation and support from the non-official world. I look to the leaders of commerce and industry, who have given us such invaluable help in the past, to assist in securing an adequate response to the Government of India's defence loans. But above all I am convinced of the necessity for small savings playing their part. During the three and a quarter years since the war started the small saver's contribution to the return, as savings, of a portion of the vast volume of purchasing capacity which the war and supply activities of the country are placing in the hands of the people has—and I say it with regret—been of negligible importance. That is far from a healthy state of affairs. I am sure that personal interest, and active propaganda, can do much to better it. I would appeal to all employers of labour to organise, encourage, and assist their employees to save, and to conserve their savings, through the various avenues which the Government of India have provided for the purpose. I know that it is only by persistent and unremitting effort on the part of all employers of labour that that can effectively be done. But if that effort is made, and maintained, there will be results of immense benefit to all sections in this country, and not least to the poorer classes, whom the rise in prices most seriously affects. I am sure, Gentlemen, that where your great authority and influence are concerned, I can with confidence look for the fullest help and co-operation in this matter.

I listened with close attention, Sir, to your remarks on the all-important question of food supplies. This is a question constantly present to me, and never more so than during recent months. The creation of the new Department of Food, to which you have referred in such friendly terms, will I trust before very long effect some improvement in the situation. Close study of the cause of the present apparent shortages and the high prices which are evident in many centres suggests that though India has, of course, been deprived of its accustomed rice imports from Burma, the difficulties of the present situation are due less to any real deficiency of supplies than to the mental reactions of great sections of the community to the abnormal times in which we

are living. I realise fully that the greatly increased calls made on the transport system of this country for defence purposes reduce its ability to do all that it did in pre-war days for the movement of civil supplies. But, since August last, the railways have allowed priority to the transport of food-grains, and I am assured that in this respect there is now considerably less delay and dislocation than were reported to be prevailing five or six months ago. Nevertheless during recent months the supply situation has grown more acute and prices have risen with increased rapidity.

It is sometimes suggested that our present troubles are due to the policy of price and movement control adopted by the Government of India, and by various Provincial and States Governments, and that if trade were left free from restriction the interaction of supply and demand would result in commodities finding their way where they were most needed, and in a price level determined by normal forces. That is a plausible contention, and it merits careful scrutiny. But I am myself, after anxious thought, convinced that it is unsound. The control of supplies and prices has been found necessary by practically every administration in the world today. No one is more disinclined to embark upon the perilous and difficult course of control than a Government. For Governments know all too well the troubles and anxieties that control brings with it, and, in experience, they have recourse to this policy when, and only when, the operation of uncontrolled economic forces has produced a situation which can no longer be permitted to continue unchecked. And to remove controls is not, to my mind, the solution of the present difficulties. On the contrary the proper course may probably lie in the direction of an extension of control to a wider range of articles, and of a more direct participation by Government themselves in the actual procurement and distribution of supplies.

I will not take up your time, Gentlemen, with any detailed narrative of the steps my Government have taken and are taking. The Wheat Control Order, the Regional Price and Supply Boards, the Food-grains Control Order, the Grow More Food Campaign, are all evidence of the anxiety of my Government to deal with this most important problem. In the matter of price control, as thorny a question as any, much has been done. More still may have to be attempted. The difficulties of enforcing maximum prices by penal provision are only too familiar to you. And the existence of black markets is well known. But while we may not have had full success in enforcing maximum prices I am certain that the prescription of such prices had a very real and immediate value, to the extent that it has served to retard the rate of price increase over the whole range of the commodity controlled. And let me say in that connection that I fully agree with what you, Sir, have said, about the simplification of the licensing and permit system ; and that it will be the aim of the new Department to simplify control operations as much as possible, in the interests alike of administration and of the general public.

But whatever policy is adopted, or whatever measures are put into force, no lasting success can be hoped for without the wholehearted

co-operation of the whole body of the community. If the workers in our transport and communication systems, our war industries, and our essential services cannot be provided with the wherewithal to live at a price within their means, the war effort will be crippled and the country itself exposed to grave dangers. It is more essential now than ever that every citizen should sink his individual interests in the common cause, and realise that, if he concentrates on serving himself alone, he is endangering not only the stability of the whole community but his personal security as well. I would therefore associate myself, Sir, most wholeheartedly with your plea for the co-operation of all the interests involved in solving our present difficulties, difficulties, as I have said, due not so much to shortage of resources as to disturbances of normal routine. If we secure that co-operation, the difficulties which are now being experienced throughout India will shrink to less menacing proportions. No effort, let me assure you, will be spared to meet a situation the gravity and importance of which my Government so fully realise.

You referred, Sir, to the difficult questions that arise in connection with the requisitioning of business and residential property. I need not say that my sympathy is very great indeed for those who, whether in their business arrangements or in their private lives, have had to suffer the grave and serious inconvenience which requisitioning involves. I note with full attention and appreciation the views that you have expressed on this matter, and I will see that they are brought to the notice of my Government, who already have the whole matter under active consideration.

When I had the honour of addressing the Associated Chambers on previous occasions since the outbreak of the war, I dealt in some detail with the work of the Supply Department. I trust sincerely that you, Gentlemen, who are so closely concerned, and so familiar, with the operations of that Department, are satisfied that we are doing our best. I think you will agree with me that we have achieved immense things in the field of supply. Errors and misunderstandings there must always be. It is impossible to avoid them. But, broadly speaking, we can feel that in the field of supply India has made a contribution of outstanding importance and value, and nothing will be left undone to ensure that during the remainder of the war the upward curve of improvement and of development shall be maintained.

I do not propose today to trouble you with any lengthy details of progress under particular heads. But one or two facts and figures I might quote, for they are very striking. For the first six months of the war the value of contracts placed was approximately 29 crores. For the six months from April to October 1942 it was 137 crores. Over the whole period to the end of October 1942 it has been no less than 428 crores. And those figures exclude the value of the work done in the Ordnance Factories, which is in itself very considerable. They include only the contracts actually placed through our Purchase Branch.

During the last year, progress with the Roger Mission projects has been satisfactory, and I hope that the Roger Mission programme as a

whole will be getting into production from the early months of 1943 onwards. The preparatory work in India has been ahead of the receipt of plant and equipment from abroad. The flow of munitions components from trade workshops is maintained. The magnitude of India's effort in respect of munitions and engineering stores is now shown by the tightness of key materials such as steel, of which very considerable imports are expected from the United States. Further important schemes for the expansion of steel production have been approved.

On the general stores side, our measures to double the production of filature-reeled silk are well in hand, and the production of statichutes on a substantial scale is established. The production of web equipment, which was *nil* before the war, now stands at about 200,000 sets a month, and unless the demand decreases it will be doubled in the course of 1943. The possibility of expanding the chemicals industry is under active consideration. Ship construction has been amalgamated with ship repairs, and a new Directorate-General established at Bombay to deal with both activities.

The year indeed has in the supply field been one of steady progress. We welcomed during its course the visit of the American Technical Mission, which was a very useful stimulant and most helpful to us in every way. The far-reaching scheme of industrial expansion recommended by the Mission would, if accepted in full have involved the earliest supply to India by the United States of large quantities of materials and equipment, and of large numbers of technical personnel. The United States Government have found it impossible to implement this programme in full in present conditions. But they have generously offered to consider any projects which are essential for war effort, and to which the Government of India attach particular importance ; and we are already receiving very significant assistance from the United States in the form of materials, machinery and plant. Let me only add that during the unhappy disturbances of this autumn labour at most industrial centres remained staunch, and those losses of working time that had to be recorded were due rather to the difficulties to which the workers were subjected than to any desire to go slow on the part of the workers themselves.

I welcome your friendly reference to the work of my Commerce Department. Much of the war work that has fallen to that Department has necessarily involved interference, often serious interference, with the normal practices of industry and commerce, and it is perhaps natural that its activities, though undertaken for the common benefit, should have been the cause of dissatisfaction to individuals. I appreciate the more your remarks about its attitude in the more directly beneficent field of war risk insurance. And I am emboldened to believe that, on a wider and more detached view, its anxiety to mitigate the inevitable unpleasantness attached to measures of control will also receive recognition. Let me assure you, Gentlemen, that the Government of India are most appreciative of the invaluable assistance which they have received from the War Risk Insurance Advisory Committee, as well as of the co-operation of the Insurance Companies, which have

consented to work as Government Agents in return for out-of-pocket expenses only—a notable voluntary contribution to the war effort.

I have listened, Sir, with close attention and interest to what you said about British trade and commerce in this country. Your anxiety, in your own words, is that British trade should be given a fair deal, and allowed to conduct its business without discrimination or expropriation ; and you touched in your remarks on the history of Britain's contribution to India, whether in the commercial or in the administrative field. I was glad to hear what you said. For there is too great a tendency, and not merely where India is concerned, for Great Britain and the British people, confident as they are in fact in their own record and in their own capacity, to show that confidence by self-depreciation, a self-depreciation which is unjustified, and which is very apt to be misunderstood. Whether in this war, or in the past, Great Britain can, with all humility, claim that she has achieved great things, and that her contribution to human progress and happiness, and her record, and that of her citizens, at home or abroad, in commerce, in administration or in the Fighting Services, is one to be proud of.

And there is no part of the Empire in which we can look back on a greater record of achievement than in India. Law and order, the arts of peace, greatly raised standards of wealth and of prosperity, the elimination for practical purposes of grave famine, of disease, throughout this sub-continent, that security in which India has been able industrially and politically to reach her present high place among the nations of the world—these are great services rendered. Our achievement in India is one that need not fear comparison with any corresponding work in the world. It is indeed to its magnitude that much of the criticism which you mention is due. For it is easy, indeed it is but natural, living in the long settled peace for which Great Britain is responsible, under the unity that Great Britain has achieved, that the decades of war and internecine strife through which this country had passed before British authority was established on its present basis should be forgotten.

In the specifically commercial field to which you have referred, India has derived, and derives today, great benefit, as you, Sir, have reminded us, from the British connection. The immense importance to her of her foreign trade, and of the British trading and business community, the significance to India of the position of the Empire's capital as the centre of a world-wide system, her ability as a unit of the Empire to turn that position to special advantage, were not and could not have been created on the basis of a policy of excluding overseas and foreign interests or personnel. And I cannot believe that the significance of that fact, so well established by general experience elsewhere, will be lost on the India of the future. Whatever mistakes may have been made—and who of us, and what country, is there that has not made mistakes ?—we can, I repeat, with all humility claim that Great Britain and her citizens have earned for themselves an honoured place in India, by the standards they have set and by the benefits which long years of peace and prosperity have brought to this country. I am confident that the assistance of the British community,

and the benefit of the British connection to the upholding of India's business traditions and the maintenance and development of India's post-war position in international trade, will be as readily afforded in the future as they have been in the past.

The year now drawing to a close has been one of very great importance in every way for India. For all of us on whom rests the burden of conducting the affairs of this great country it has been one at times of deep anxiety, whether in terms of the internal or the external situation. When we last met Japan had just entered the war. The early part of this year was marked by the invasion of Malaya, the Japanese advance into Burma, the very active threat to the shores of India, Japanese naval activity in the Bay of Bengal and elsewhere, attacks on Vizagapatam and Ceylon, and strong pressure from Japan in North-eastern India. We had reason for anxiety, too, because of the news from other parts of the Fighting Front. In attack and in defence we have worked in those dark times in close association with the gallant forces of China, whose Generalissimo and his wife I was so happy to welcome on behalf of India in February; of the United States, whose reception from all quarters in India has been so sincere; and of the warrior Kingdom of Nepal, to which and to whose Prime Minister we are bound by such close ties.

In India itself I cannot speak too highly of the steps taken by all concerned to perfect our preparations against invasion, to sustain morale, to organise to meet any situation that might arise. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the Defence Forces in this country—naval, military or air—have spared no effort. Defence arrangements have been developed on a great scale. Recruitment and training of troops has been pressed on with the utmost vigour. There have been immense strides forward in civil defence. The keen and constant interest shown in that vital matter by my own Department of Civil Defence has been equally marked throughout India, whether in the Provinces or in the Indian States. We find ourselves today in a happier condition so far as civil defence is concerned than at any earlier period in the war, and the necessity for civil defence, and the organisation that has been developed in connection with it has brought home directly to many whom the war might not in the ordinary way have closely touched the essential importance to India of being able to stand on her own feet, and to repel any attack that may be made from outside.

In the internal field we have, to my keen and deep regret, had to deal since I last addressed you with an uprising, consequent on the programme of the leaders of the Congress party, of great gravity and great severity. That uprising, which had no support from great sections of the Hindu community, from which the Muslim community and other important parts of the population of India dissociated themselves, which affected only in the smallest degree the Indian States, was perhaps the work of a numerically small but very important section. But that section, carefully organised, and unscrupulous, I am sorry to say it, in the methods it adopted, indifferent to the creed of non-violence to which such prominence has been given, was able

to cause immense damage, serious dislocation of communications, much destruction of public and private property, heavy loss to the taxpayer, the deaths of many innocent persons. At a time when the efforts of all of us were directed, and necessarily directed, to protecting India against Japanese aggression and to building up supplies and stores for our own defence and for the battle against the Axis it resulted in a serious diversion of military forces and an interruption, deeply to be regretted, in the war effort.

To the sorrow of all of us who care for the good name of India, those disturbances were disfigured by very shocking cases of brutality and violence. And a grievous feature of them is the use to which designing men endeavoured to turn, and indeed succeeded in many cases in turning, the young enthusiasm, the intelligence, and the lack of experience of the student community. Those who diverted those young men, young men of such promise, with their future just opening before them, into the dangerous paths of civil tumult and disorder, carry an immense responsibility to India, and to the ardent and generous youth which they have led astray. In restoring order everything possible was done to use the minimum degree of force, and to cause the minimum disturbance. The success of that policy is shown by the very low figures of casualties. The situation is well in hand as I speak to you today, though even now in certain areas it continues to call for the utmost vigilance and care.

I would like to pay a tribute to the admirable work done in restoring order by the Services, military and civil alike, and in particular by the police, on whom there fell so heavy a burden. And I would like to say a word of warm and sincere thanks on behalf not only of myself, and of my Government, but on behalf of India, to those solid and sober elements throughout the country who, in times of great difficulty, stood by Government, gave their full co-operation to those whose business it was to maintain law and order, and at great risk to themselves, and sometimes at the cost of grave injury, formed rallying points around which the law-abiding and the loyal citizen could gather, and from which he could get assurance and support.

Since the war began you and I have had heavy anxieties. We have realised how great a burden the war has placed upon the Empire and upon India. We have realised, too, as I ventured to say to you in 1939, that the fate of India in the international sphere turns on the success of the Allied Arms. We have been heartened and supported in those dark days by India's response, by her generosity in men, money, and materials, by the heroism of her sons, whether from British India or the Indian States. As I speak to you today the outlook is brighter. We are far still from the end of our troubles. There lie ahead of us before final and decisive victory can be won, much hard fighting, inevitable reverses, possibly even serious disasters. All those things are what war is made of. They must be expected. They must be provided against so far as we can hope to make such provision. If things go badly reverses must be borne with a stout heart, with a resolution to amend what has been faulty, and to go ahead with confidence and courage, and with the certainty that we have right behind

us, and that victory is ours in the end. But you and I, whether in our private lives or in public affairs, are all of us conscious today of the improvement that has taken place, of the immense difference made by the brilliant campaigns that have been waged last year and this year by our Russian Allies ; by the successes of the Allied Arms in Africa, successes in which Indian troops played so distinguished and outstanding a part ; and by the great battle that even as I speak the forces of the United States and those of the Commonwealth of Australia are fighting in the Far East. It is too early yet for optimism. But we can feel that our earlier confidence in the successful outcome of the struggle, however dark at times things may have seemed, has been justified, and that, while no effort can be relaxed, we can look forward with an easier mind to the concluding stages of the war.

I listened with deep satisfaction to the remarks which you, Sir, were kind enough to make about the Governor-General's Executive Council, and the tribute which you were good enough to pay to its work. Since we last met, that Council has undergone a material expansion. Working in the closest of contact with its Members and with the Council as a whole, I can, from my own knowledge and experience, speak of its capacity, its courage, its unity, its devotion to the interests of India. I need not tell you how great is the value to the Governor-General of colleagues such as those with whom it is now my good fortune to work in the Executive Council.

I turn now with your permission, Gentlemen, to the position in the constitutional field. I came here in 1936 with the hope that before I handed over I might see in full operation the Act of 1935, an Act often criticized, but the result of years of patient work by the best minds of India and Great Britain. That Act provided, as you will remember, for extensive autonomy in the provincial sphere and for a federation of India at the Centre.

The scheme of provincial autonomy came into being in April 1937, and it has been in operation since that date. The Congress Party, who at first were critical of the scheme, decided in July 1937 to take advantage of it, and in those provinces in which there was a Congress majority in the legislature Congress Governments remained in power till October 1939. They then decided that they could no longer carry the responsibilities which fell upon them, and withdrew from office. In the absence of a majority government, those provinces have since that date been governed under the special provisions of the Act. In the remaining Provinces autonomous governments have throughout (save for a brief period in Assam and in Orissa) been in control of the affairs of their provinces, and are in control today.

In the provincial field let me say at once that I am perfectly satisfied, after the experience of the six years since 1937, with the essential soundness of the scheme of provincial autonomy. It has worked with success in all the Provinces. As I speak, it is working smoothly in Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Sind, and Orissa. It would work equally well in the remaining Provinces, as in fact it did, were those for whom the scheme is designed but ready to work it. That we

have had to resort to the emergency provisions of the Act is due to no flaw in the scheme. It is the result of a political decision by the majority party not to carry their responsibilities.

In the Centre the position is different. The Act of 1935 provided for a Federation of India—a federal scheme designed to bring together the Provinces of British India and the Indian States, with a Central Legislature based on a substantial franchise, with solid foundations in the country, representative of the Indian States and British India alike. The scheme of the Act would have transferred power to Ministers at the Centre drawing their support from the legislature. It would have brought together British India and the Indian States. It would have produced in the Centre a scheme of government representative of all parties, communities and interests.

When the war broke out, the preparations for bringing the federation into being, though far adavanced, were not yet complete, and, in the immense strain that fell upon us in the opening days of the war, there was nothing for it but to concentrate on the winning of the war and to suspend those preparations. The Government of India continues therefore to be based on the same principles as before the Act of 1935—the Governor-General and his Executive Council responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament.

While as I have said, work on federation has been suspended, I have never concealed from you my own sincere and firm belief in the value of the federal scheme, representing as it did the maximum of agreement between the great communities, the political parties, British India and the States, that could be obtained at the time when the Act was framed. The federal scheme has its imperfections. It can be attacked, as it was attacked, on various grounds, and with plausibility.

But whatever its imperfections, it would have made an immense contribution to Indian political advance. It would have solved the great bulk of the problems in the constitutional field that we have heard so much of over these last few years. It would have welded together with the consent of all concerned, in a common partnership, and for common objects, British India and the Indian States. And it would have provided (and that is what I regard as so very important) a government representative, authoritative, covering the whole, or almost the whole, of India, composed of persons of the highest standing in this country, able to speak with authority, and with general support, on behalf of this sub-continent.

Since I felt at the time that with the postponement of the federal scheme it was of great importance to broaden the basis, and to introduce certain changes in the character, of the Governor-General's Executive Council, I was anxious to get the support of the great political parties, and to produce at the Centre as representative a government as could be found. I will not weary you, Gentlemen, with the details of the discussions, the negotiations, the public statements, that have been made over the last three years. You are familiar with their general outline. Suffice it to say this.

On the one hand during that time my Council has been changed from a body with a European and an official majority, and with a total strength of 7 in addition to the Governor-General, into a body of 15, of whom two only are officials, and three only, in addition to the Commander-in-Chief and myself, Europeans. The remaining portfolios are held by men of the highest character and distinction in the Indian political field, men with long records of service to India behind them ; many of them men who have held office in provincial governments in the past.

In a different field I have been at pains to try to associate popular opinion in the provinces with the work which the Centre has been doing, and in particular with the work which it has been doing in connection with the war. The establishment of a National Defence Council, some members of which I am glad to see here today, has resulted in periodic meetings of a very highly qualified body, representative of all the provinces of British India as well as of the Indian States, a body that has been taken into the fullest confidence and from which there are no secrets, a body well able to supplement the changed character of my Executive Council by first-hand knowledge of provincial feeling and provincial views.

Taking the various stages which I have just mentioned together, we can thus claim, despite the decision as to the federal scheme, to have made a very material and a very real advance during the last three years in the association of non-official Indians with government in this country.

That is something. But it is not all one could have wished for. As you, Gentlemen, know so well, my efforts have been directed during all this period to getting the parties together, to bringing about with any help that I could give that measure of agreement which is so essential if we are to have a workable scheme. One difficulty after another has been brought forward. One attempt after another has been made by His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State and myself to deal with such difficulties. My own anxiety to see an end of those difficulties, to see India united in agreement, has throughout been as deep and as sincere as it is today. And that is true equally of the Secretary of State and of His Majesty's Government.

I am the more disappointed in those circumstances that none of the efforts so sincerely made should have achieved the object at which we aimed and at which we aim today. Indeed it sometimes seems that our very endeavours to dissipate misconceptions and misunderstandings have tended to widen the gulf between those whom we desire to unite rather than to narrow it. The attitude of His Majesty's Government, their anxiety to see India self-governing under a scheme devised in full freedom by the principal elements in India's national life, their readiness to leave this matter to a body composed of Indians themselves, have been declared in the most emphatic and in the most solemn manner. The mission of Sir Stafford Cripps to this country in the spring of this year was but the latest evidence of the sincerity of His Majesty's Government in this matter. And, as you will all of you remember, when the proposals carried by Sir Stafford were made public

the verdict of world opinion was that those were reasonable proposals, and proposals the genuineness and the profound importance of which could not be questioned.

But those proposals, too, failed to secure agreement. The reasons for which they proved unacceptable to the various parties were, as has been the case throughout the melancholy history of this question, mutually destructive. And today I see with deep regret little to encourage me to hope that the conflicting claims (and I do not question for a moment the sincerity with which those claims are advanced and pressed) of the great parties and communities in this country are likely in any degree to be abated. Yet for all that, I would like to feel that the problem is not beyond the genius of Indian leadership, and that it may yet be possible for the various parties to come together and co-operate in forming the executive government of this country.

I have spoken often to you in my earlier addresses of the importance of unity in this country. Geographically India, for practical purposes, is one. I would judge it to be as important as it ever was in the past, nay more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and the legitimate claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small. That that would be a desirable aim no one, Gentlemen, can doubt who tests that proposition in terms of foreign policy, of tariff policy, of defence policy, of industrial development. Can India speak with the authority that she is entitled to claim, can she play her part effectively at international discussions, at discussions with the other parts of the Empire, if she is to speak with two voices ? Indian unity, subject as I have said to full and sufficient provision for the minorities, accepted as such by those minorities, is of great and real importance if India is to carry the weight which she ought to carry in the counsels of the Empire and of the world.

But there are hard practical issues that have got to be faced before any true solution can be found. Political opinion in all responsible quarters must discover a middle road along which all men of goodwill may march. That indeed is the difficult but essential task which must be performed if India is to achieve the great position we all desire for her. The policy of His Majesty's Government in respect of the future status of India is clear beyond any question. But the achievement of a particular status carries with it heavy obligations. In the modern world, whether we like it or not, a readiness to accept heavy financial burdens, to accept liability for defence on whatever scale one's geographical position demands, at whatever cost ; all those are essential. So many today found their hopes and their plans on the confident assurance that the post-war world will be a safe world. I sincerely hope that it will be so. But if that end is to be achieved, and maintained, constant vigilance, constant effort, constant forethought, will be needed. And all that is relevant to what I have just said about the unity of India. A divided people cannot carry the weight that it ought to carry, or make its way in the world with the same confident expectation of success.

But equally, mere artificial unity, without genuine agreement between the component parts, may well be a danger rather than an advantage. For fissures that reveal themselves under pressure from outside are more dangerous than fissures the existence of which is well known and can be provided against. It is only by understanding between party and party, between community and community, understanding that begets trust and confidence, that is based on a liberal acceptance by the parties to it of the historic traditions, the legitimate claims, of the other to a place in the scheme of things that there comes that truly welded result which is able to stand shocks from whatever corner of the compass. Is not that result worth working for ? Is it not worth some sacrifice, if some sacrifice must be its price ?

Great Britain's help is always available and has been freely offered. In the time that I have been in this country one proposition after another has been advanced by His Majesty's Government and by myself in the hope of producing a generally acceptable solution. I can myself claim to have brought together Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, though unhappily without result. I have worked very hard, if unsuccessfully, to bridge the gulf between parties, interests and communities. Let me say one thing only before I pass from this subject. We are familiar with the suggestion that the troubles of India are due to Great Britain's refusal to part with power. I would say exactly the contrary. Those troubles are due to Great Britain's expressed readiness to part with power. It is because agreement cannot be reached between the conflicting interests in this country as to who is to take over the responsibilities which Great Britain is only too ready to transfer to Indian hands, that the deadlock has arisen. It is from no reluctance on our part to transfer them.

Gentlemen, the further period for which His Majesty has been pleased to ask me to serve in my present office is a short one now. In ten months time or so I shall hand over to the new Viceroy. Believe me when I say that if in that time I can help to bridge these gulfs which I have spoken of, I shall leave India a happy man. India and all of us have had to face grave and exacting problems during this time of war—very great dangers, heavy responsibilities, much waste of life, much pouring out of resources that could have been turned to such advantage in the arts of peace. The end of the war, so eagerly hoped for by all of us, is not the end of our troubles. When the war ends, we shall be faced by problems that will tax our public spirit, our courage, our resources of body and mind, to the maximum. The problems of demobilisation, of reconstruction, of the resettlement of these great armies, of the adjustment of India to post-war world economic conditions, will be immense. In discharge of the commitment of His Majesty's Government it will be for the principal elements in India's national life to devise their own proposals for the future government of this country, and to reach on those proposals that agreement that is, as I have already said, so essential if any workable and permanent scheme is to be devised. That by itself would be a heavy task. But though it may be the most important task, it will be one only of those that will fall to India on the conclusion of the war. If before I leave

this country I could see that understanding and agreement between the great Indian parties that is a pre-requisite of internal contentment and of progress, I would leave India well satisfied that while progress in these matters, whether in India or elsewhere, must be a business of trial and error, and may be slower than many of us could wish, still that all was set for the consummation of those ideals that have been so close to the heart of those of us who have worked for India's future and for the raising of her stature in the comity of nations.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the attention with which you have listened to me this morning. I will keep you no longer. But on this, the last occasion on which I shall address you, I would like with sincerity and profound gratitude to thank you for the consistent support, for the understanding and for the confidence that over seven years you have given me. It has been invaluable to me, and my gratitude for it is deep indeed."

55. LEADERS' DEPUTATION

Text of Lord Linlithgow's reply to the deputation from the Leaders' Conference, Bombay, headed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, at New Delhi, on April 1, 1943 :—

" GENTLEMEN,—

I am greatly obliged to you for the expression of your views which you have been kind enough to let me have, and for giving me the opportunity of considering it in advance. The matter is one of great importance, and I am anxious that there should be no misunderstanding in relation to it. I made clear in my correspondence with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru my readiness that your deputation should in their statement amplify or emphasise any particular points in the Bombay Resolution to which they attached importance and indicate the arguments on which they based their suggestions. I am indebted to you for the memorandum you have let me have, though it is with regret that I do not find in it any fresh argument in support of the suggestions which the Leaders' Conference has put forward ; and that I do not find that unequivocal condemnation of the Congress campaign of violence which the public, and I are entitled to expect from you as representing that Conference.

Let me before I proceed to your specific proposals mention, though in no spirit of criticism, that I observe from the list of signatories that the great Muslim community was practically unrepresented at the Conference of Leaders, and that that body contained no representative of the Scheduled Castes and no one in a position to speak for the Indian States. I observe also that the Leader of the Hindu Mahasabha dissociated himself from the resolution passed by the Conference, while organised parties such as the Muslim League were not represented at its deliberations. I am, however, I need not say, at all times glad to hear the views of persons prominent in the public life of this country on the political issues of the day, and to give all attention to any representations that they may make to me.

. The specific proposal that you ask me to consider is that permission should be given for certain persons to meet Mr. Gandhi in detention to ascertain authoritatively his reaction to the events that have happened since his arrest, and to explore with him avenues for reconciliation. You feel, you tell me, that Mr. Gandhi has already expressed in the correspondence that has passed between him and me his disapproval of violence and sabotage, and you add that you have no doubt that he will cast his influence on the side of internal harmony and reconciliation. And you urge that if the permission for which you have asked is not given to you, the action of Government will unquestionably be interpreted as meaning that they do not wish to see reconciliation.

Let me remind you first of the salient facts in the position. Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Congress Party, after a long preliminary campaign of incitement, were finally placed under restraint last August. At the time when they were placed under restraint Mr. Gandhi had urged open rebellion, had adjured his followers to "do or die"; had made it clear that there was "no room left for withdrawal or negotiation"; and had both directly and indirectly by his speeches and writings contributed actively to foment that sad and disastrous series of events that disfigured the face of India during the autumn and winter of last year. He and the Congress Party had been given every opportunity to reconsider their position. My Government and I had exposed ourselves to the charge that we ought to have taken action against them much earlier, and that we ought not to have allowed this campaign of violence and sabotage to develop. But our forbearance met with no reward, and we were left with no option in the interests of the security of India, and her defence against Japan and against the other Axis Powers, but to take the action that was taken last August.

Unhappily the arrest of the leaders did not prevent a shocking campaign of organised violence and crime for which preparations had been made before those arrests took place. The paper published by the Government of India clearly indicates the full responsibility of Congress and of Mr. Gandhi for that campaign. The encouragement which it gave while it lasted to the Axis Powers needs no emphasis. Its effect on the war effort was severe. It resulted in most material damage to communications and to public and private properties, and in the murder of many innocent persons who had no concern with, or interest in, the political issues involved.

Despite the fact that Mr. Gandhi and the Working Committee have had full access to reliable accounts in the Press since August last, there has never been any condemnation of those activities by them. They have not dissociated themselves from the Resolution of last August from which so many of these evils flowed. Mr. Gandhi's advice to "do or die" still stands on record: and while order has been restored, and the rebellion put down, no one can suggest that the country did not pass through a period of grave danger; and that while the Congress creed remains what it is, we would again be exposed to

that danger if the Congress and its leaders are again given full liberty of action.

You mention that you have seen the correspondence that has passed between me and Mr. Gandhi. I would draw your attention to one most important point. I put it to Mr. Gandhi in terms (for I thought that must be his intention) that if I was right in thinking that he wished to go back on the Resolution of last August, to condemn what had taken place and to give suitable assurances for the future, I would be very ready to consider the matter further. His reply made it quite clear that I had misunderstood him and that that was not his wish, and matters stand at that point.

Thereafter during the time of Mr. Gandhi's fast there was the fullest opportunity for certain of his trusted friends to make contact with him and many indeed of those who were present at the Conference in Bombay had the opportunity of seeing him. Mr. Gandhi, had he so wished, could then, as he could have during the time preceding his fast, or to-day, have repudiated the violence for which Congress was responsible, could have indicated his readiness to resile from the Congress Resolution of August last, and could have given assurances for the future. But nothing whatever positive has emerged as a result of those contacts any more than from the correspondence that passed between Mr. Gandhi and myself, and I have no reason to believe that Mr. Gandhi is any more ready now than he was at an earlier stage to repudiate the policy as the result of which the Congress leaders are at present under detention.

Now, Gentlemen, I have done my very best in the time that I have been in this country to try to improve relations and to try to get the parties together: and I do not think it can be suggested that I have been unsympathetic, or that I have not throughout been genuinely anxious to give all the help I can to the improvement of good relations and to the solution of India's political problems. If therefore in the present instance I am unable to accept your proposals, it is not from any lack of anxiety to see the atmosphere improved. But on me there rests a very definite and specific obligation, and the same obligation rests on my Government. It is the duty of both of us to ensure peace and good order in this country; to see that India is defended against Japanese and other Axis aggression; and to make certain that nothing is allowed to happen that would further the interests of the enemy, interfere with the war effort of the United Nations, or create internal strife and tumult. So long as that is our obligation, so long as the Congress policy remains what it is, there can be no question of any alteration in our attitude towards the Congress. I have already pointed out that neither from Mr. Gandhi nor from the Congress is there, or has there been, any suggestion of a change of mind or heart. They had the opportunity and have the opportunity still to abandon that policy. With every respect for your good intentions and your anxiety to see a happy solution, I cannot agree to give special facilities such as you ask for contact with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders while conditions remain as I have described them.

If on the other hand Mr. Gandhi is prepared to repudiate in full the Congress Resolution of last August, to condemn equally those incitements to violence which are represented by his references to "open rebellion", his advice to Congress followers to "do or die", the statement that with the removal of the leaders the rank and file must judge for themselves, and the like; if in addition he and the Congress Party are prepared to give assurances acceptable to Government for the future, then the matter can be considered further. But till then, and while the Congress attitude remains unchanged, Government's first duty is to the people of India, and that duty it intends to discharge. It is not to be deflected from that duty by suggestions, ill-founded as I believe them to be, that by doing its duty it will add to bitterness and ill-feeling. I do not believe that to be the case. But even if it were, that is the price that Government must pay for discharging its responsibilities to the people of India, and I feel certain myself that the people of India appreciate fully the dangerous and sinister character of the Congress campaign of last year—from which such great sections of them stood wholly aloof—and the threat which that campaign represented and would represent again if it were revived, to the safety and tranquillity of this country.

I would add only one word more. You speak of the importance of a National Government. I quite agree with you, and my endeavours during the time that I have been here have been devoted to forming at the Centre a Government as representative and as broadly based as can be found in present circumstances in India. But the fact that you suggest that it is only if you are permitted to consult Mr. Gandhi that a genuine National Government can be formed shows that so far from realising the true character of a National Government, you contemplate that that Government should be nominated with the approval of a single political leader acting independently of other parties and other leaders in this country. Not on these lines is progress to be made. No National Government can properly be so described unless, as in the United Kingdom, it is fully representative of all parties and sections of the people, based on their ready co-operation with Government and with one another, united in the prosecution of the war for the objectives of the United Nations, of such a character that its establishment soothes instead of aggravating controversy. The essential preliminary to that is that agreement between parties, communities and interests which I have been so anxious to foster, but to which the excessive claims and the totalitarian ambitions of the Congress and its leaders have been so consistent an obstacle in the past."

56. "FAITHFUL GATEKEEPERS"

April 2, 1943

Lord Linlithgow's reply to the address from the people of the North-West Frontier Province at Peshawar on April 2, 1943 :—

"It is a great pleasure to me to visit the North-West Frontier Province again. I deeply appreciate the warmth of the welcome that my wife and I have received in Peshawar and the cordial terms of the address from the leading gentlemen of the Province, representative of all districts of the Frontier, that you, Sir, have been good enough to read to me today.

The threat of war has happily not approached the North-West Frontier Province. But the importance of the Province remains as great as ever. It is still one of the great gateways to India, and Government still look to you to be their faithful gatekeepers. In these troubled and difficult times, the stability of the districts and the agencies alike—for both are equally important parts of the whole, has been to me a matter for great satisfaction. And when, last autumn, unwise leadership led so many to participate in outrages and disorders which disturbed the peace of India, and did such harm to her great name, the commonsense and the wisdom of the leaders of this Province preserved harmony and order in this most important area. I warmly congratulate you, gentlemen, on the record of the North-West Frontier Province during those anxious days.

I have watched with admiration the contribution which the North-West Frontier Province has made to the war effort. For long it has been one of the great recruiting grounds of India. That reputation has been well maintained during the war, and particularly by the districts of Hazara and Kohat. And the contribution of the Province has been not merely in terms of manpower. Most generous help has been given to all good causes ; loans and subscriptions for war purposes have had every assistance from the North-West Frontier Province. And in the organisation of supplies of dried fruit and meat, on a very large scale, the Province has made another important contribution to the war effort.

Thank you most warmly for the kind things which you have been good enough to say about my wife and myself. We do deeply appreciate them, and we are only sorry to think that this is likely to be the last time that we will see the North-West Frontier Province. I would like on behalf of my wife to say how great a pleasure it was to her to visit last year the admirable tuberculosis sanatorium at Dadar, and to see the good work that is being done there in a matter of such vital importance to the health and welfare of the Province. You may be certain of the continued interests of both of us in the years to come in the happiness and the welfare of the people of the Frontier.

I thank you again sincerely for your good wishes and for your welcome. I look forward greatly to my tours in the Province during the next few days and to renewing old contacts and meeting old friends again."

57. FINAL VICTORY IN AFRICA

Broadcasting to India on the Allied victory in North Africa, Lord Linlithgow rejoices that " our famous 4th Indian Division was in at the kill" and recalls the part played by Indian troops in Field-Marshal Wavell's great campaigns and in General Auchinleck's splendid last stand that saved Egypt. He pays a tribute to all heroes of the Tunisian campaign, " not only to British and Indian troops but to our gallant American companions-in-arms, to the renascent might of France and to the splendid formations from the Dominions." But, from our rejoicings we must only derive fresh strength to go forward and win final victory, he warns. Text of the broadcast on May 13, 1943 : **May 13, 1943**

" The labour and the sweat and the sacrifices of nearly four years of campaigning in North Africa have now been crowned with magnificent and final victory. The African Continent has been cleansed and great forces of the enemy have been captured or utterly destroyed.

That great strategic highway, the Mediterranean, has been opened and along the length of its southern littoral stand division upon division of French, American, British, Dominion and Indian troops, all flushed with victory, all brothers in arms, whose mutual confidence has been tried in the test of battle, all eager for the next move forward and filled with an implacable resolve to destroy root and branch the foul growth of Nazism that has cast its deadly shade over the length and breadth of Continental Europe.

These troops have seen the superb performances of our air forces over Africa and they rightly believe that in the great battles to come they will have air support of a quality and strength that the Axis cannot hope to equal. They have witnessed in the Mediterranean the matchless skill and gallantry of our navies and mercantile marine, and they know their people at home in many parts of the world are praying for their success and safety, longing for an early end to this world crusade, but ready to endure privation and hardship for months and indeed for years if necessary, till the victory is complete and our troops are in Berlin itself.

This great deed of arms in North Africa clearly marks the end of a stage in the war and my colleagues and I think it is right we in India should celebrate our success. There will, therefore, be a public holiday on Friday, May 21, when ' Tunisia Day ' will be celebrated and I hope there will be public rejoicings throughout India on that day.

We shall then pay tribute, richly deserved as it is, to the heroes of the Tunisian campaign, not only to British and Indian troops but to our gallant American companions in arms, to the renascent might of France, and to the splendid formations from the Dominions. We shall rejoice that our famous 4th Indian Division was in at the kill. But there are many troops not now in Tunisia who won fame in Africa in 1940, 1941 and 1942, and it would be base ingratitude to forget the part that Indian troops played in Field-Marshal Wavell's great campaigns and in General Auchinleck's splendid last stand that saved Egypt.

It has been the joint endeavour of all troops engaged since the beginning of the African campaign that has made possible the final victory which we are now to celebrate.

Again, the fighting forces would be the last to claim that the credit for victory is their alone. We have been through great stress in India, we have had to resist civil commotion, and only a year ago we had to face the possibility of invasion both from the East and from the West ; indeed, the most direct and immediate benefit to India from the African victory is the removal of a deadly threat to her own western approaches. We have had great anxieties over our food supplies—and in spite of all our difficulties it has been essential that our war effort should go on and increase.

There are tens of thousands of men and women, police, railway staffs, civic guards, factory hands, doctors, nurses, engineers and countless others to whom is due their share of each victory we win.

India has been a vast base for our African operations, a base from which essential supplies in huge quantities have been sent first to buttress our defence and then to rush and overwhelm the enemy. I hope the National War Front which represents the citizen's will to win this war will in its celebrations stress the civilian share in the victory and also rebuke those few who are absorbed at present in purely selfish schemes of profiteering.

But self-congratulation in the middle of a war is a dangerous indulgence and I want to warn you tonight against the slightest tendency to believe that the end is in sight.

Germany is still a tremendously powerful nation and may yet be able not only to deal heavy blows against our supremely gallant allies, the Russians, but also to offer strong resistance to any invading armies in the West. And after our foot has been planted firmly on the Nazi's neck and his overweening pride is humbled in the dust, we have still to destroy the menace of Japan.

The Japanese are in essentials a barbarous mediæval race with no true culture and certainly no instincts of mercy. They are fanatical and dedicated to what they are pleased to believe is a national mission. They have captured valuable territories and bases and have had time to consolidate them. The force that we shall in due course bring against them will certainly overwhelm them, but quick results, I warn you plainly, will not be possible.

I have just returned from a visit to our troops on the Eastern frontier who have had to work hard and suffer many hardships to make India safe from invasion. They are in splendid heart and a great deal has been achieved in that area, but no one makes the mistake of under-estimating the Jap as an enemy. Defeat him utterly we will. The Americans, the Chinese and we ourselves have made up our minds about that, and, indeed, self-preservation demands it. If there are two poisonous snakes in your room and you go to great trouble to kill one it is hardly commonsense to relax before the other reptile is destroyed. The Jap stands for the same thing as the German. Though we beat the

German into the dust, a war that fails to mete out to Japan the punishment she richly deserves will be fought in vain, and a peace that left in Japanese hands one square mile of stolen territory would be fatal to the future of human happiness and human freedom not only in the East but over the whole expanse of the world.

Forgive me then if I remind you in this hour of triumph, which we do well to celebrate, that final victory is not yet and that we must derive from our rejoicings not a spurious confidence that the war is won, but fresh strength to go forward and win it.

Good-night : and to all our United Nations' forces by sea, land and air, I say ' good hunting.' "

58. LAST ADDRESS TO LEGISLATURE

Thanking them, and through them India, for " consistent, ungrudging and invaluable support through so many dark days and so many critical situations ", Lord Linlithgow in his last address to the Houses of the Central Legislature on August 2, 1943, paid " a tribute to the spirit of the people of India, whether British India or the Indian States ; to the confidence, enthusiasm and courage which they have shown through four years of a devastating and exhausting war, and to the cheerful readiness with which they have borne the many burdens that total war involves and the privations and hardships inseparable from it. Theirs has been a great achievement on the Home Front, as well as in the field, and one on which India will look back with pride and the world with admiration ". **Aug. 2, 1943**

All the more, therefore, His Excellency regretted that when in so many ways India's stature had been so enhanced, greater progress should not have been possible in the constitutional field during these years of war. " We, for our part, most anxious to give all the help we could, have tried one proposal after another, and we have done our best to harmonise the sharply conflicting claims that have faced us."

As the war had gone on, Lord Linlithgow had felt with increasing force that the federal scheme, for all the imperfections that it might have contained, would have solved the bulk of India's problems had it been possible to bring it into being.

Pointing to the extinction of India's external public debt and to the change in her international position from a debtor to a creditor's status, which was bound to have a profound influence on the course and character of India's international trade in the future, Lord Linlithgow suggested that this was a subject which might well engage the careful attention and study of Indian economists and research workers. His Excellency himself anticipated the most far-reaching effects of the change upon the structure of India's home economy.

He expressed his Government's determination to do everything in their power to stabilise economic conditions at tolerable levels during the war.

In a word of " warm thanks " to the Indian Press, Lord Linlithgow said that he remained " deeply grateful to this great institution for its fairness, its eager anxiety to serve the public : its concern to observe, and if

possible to improve the best traditions of journalism. And I would not like to leave India without paying this public tribute to it, and to that hard working body of intelligent and able men by whom India is so well served in the Press."

" Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to me to meet you again today, though I am sorry that it should be for the last time. You and I have been through difficult times together, and I shall always remember with gratitude the help and consideration that, through 7½ years of my Viceroyalty, I have had from the Central Legislature ; and the guidance that its members have given me on so many critical issues. It is a happiness for me to think that if we have been through bad days together in the earlier years of the war, I should be leaving India at a time when the skies are beginning to brighten ; when the success of the Allied arms in so many fields is becoming increasingly manifest ; and when we are encouraged by the fall of one of the greatest of the Axis leaders, and by the collapse of a system which was responsible for bringing Italy into the war against us.

The seven and a half years of my Viceroyalty have lain in momentous times. Through the whole period we have been faced by political issues of the first importance. For the last four years there has been the dominating need to concentrate on India's defence against hostile attack ; on the expansion and the training of our armed forces, whether Naval, Military or Air ; on the organising of our war effort in terms of men, of money and of supplies. India's response to every call made upon her throughout the war has been magnificent. She may well be proud of the superb contribution that she has made to the victories of the Allies, and to the triumph of the United Nations.

Gentlemen, I do not propose today to weary you with any lengthy or detailed review of the great developments that have taken place in India in so many fields since I assumed office. The fate would be a very long one. Rather would I propose to speak of India's war effort, to touch very briefly on certain major problems which are of immediate concern to all of us today, and in particular food, inflation, post-war planning ; to say a word about the political situation, and in taking leave of you to thank you, and through you India, for consistent, ungrudging and invaluable support through so many dark days and so many critical situations.

When the war began India's armed forces were designed neither in numbers nor in equipment to bear the direct shock of attack of the large, highly trained and well-equipped forces at the disposal of the Axis powers. But, with the full knowledge that the safety of India lay in the defence of its outer bastions, we sent overseas what troops we could spare. Experience has more than justified our decision. Today we can feel that, save for sporadic and ineffective air raids, India has been spared the horrors of war as, God willing, she will continue so to be.

Our armed forces today total two million men. Naval personnel has increased ten-fold. The Indian Air Force is expanding rapidly into a formidable weapon. That great total has been reached by

voluntary recruitment, recruitment too from a wider variety of sources than ever before. The equipment and the training of these large masses of men has been an immense task, all the more so given the need to keep pace with new arms and new methods; to create new formations—I need only mention the Indian Armoured Corps, the Corps of Indian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, the Indian Army Medical Corps;—to bring into being the formations of airborne troops, and of airborne surgical units, which have been so successfully developed in this country. In the air the Indian Air Force has expanded from the single squadron that was all its strength when I first came to India to ten Indian squadrons, fully equipped with modern aircraft. The essential, but highly complex ground organisation required by a national air force to provide its own maintenance and training units is rapidly being perfected. Its pilots have done admirable work in Europe: the Indian Squadron which took part in the Burma campaign has rightly won the highest praise. And the work of expansion and development goes on apace.

The Indian Navy has steadily grown through the whole of this period. There have been great and rapid increases in personnel, in ship construction, in shore establishments, in the development of specialist schools, and of specialist training. And recruitment has been extended to areas that never in the past sent men to serve at sea. The actions fought against Japanese aircraft by the "Sutlej" and the "Jumna"; the superb fight of the "Bengal" against surface raiders, have shown the fighting quality of the Royal Indian Navy. And our ships have been in action not only in Indian waters, but in the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic, and, in the last few days, in the invasion of Sicily.

The fighting record of the Indian Army is known to you all. Indian troops played a glorious part in the North and East African campaigns. Their superb fighting qualities, their courage, determination, discipline and training have been demonstrated time and again in the campaigns that have resulted in the overthrow of the Italian empire in Africa. The great victory of the 8th Army, in which the 4th Indian Division added still further honours to what was already an imperishable fame, is in the minds of all of us. In the Far East, in Burma, and in Singapore our troops faced, like their comrades from the other parts of the British Commonwealth, superior forces; and they fought a series of delaying actions in a type of warfare that makes the highest demand on the quality of troops. Those actions, fought with stubborn courage against grievous odds, gave India time to perfect her own defences against invasion. And the experience gained in the difficult and exhausting jungle warfare in which we have recently been engaged will be put to good use when the time comes for that full dress attack upon the Japanese to which we all look forward. The exploits of Brigadier Wingate's mixed force of Indian, British, Gurkha, and Burmese troops, have struck the imagination of the world, and have shown what good soldiering, discipline, and brotherhood in arms can achieve under conditions peculiarly favourable to the enemy.

The picture I have painted is but a pale reflection of the faith, the courage and the endurance of tens of thousands of humble men; courage that has won for the Indian Army no less than six awards of the Victoria Cross. No words of mine can express our thanks to them for what they have achieved, to the Princes and people of India, who have poured out their treasures of money and labour and of precious lives in the allied cause. But this I know,—whatever may be the tasks which lie ahead; however long and arduous the road we still have to traverse, that faith, that courage, that sacrifice will lead to victory.

Since I last addressed you, Gentlemen, the relations of my Government with the foreign States on India's frontiers have, I am glad to say, remained cordial. Indian troops have served with distinction in Persia. The Government of Afghanistan have well upheld their policy of neutrality as against all belligerents and have not suffered the Axis influences due to the presence of enemy Legations in their capital to disturb the common peace of the Indo-Afghan frontier. The tribes of the North-West Frontier have throughout the war maintained the peace, and I was glad on my recent visit to that famous region to be able to recognise their service to the common end by a permanent enhancement of the allowances of one of the leading tribes, the Orakzais. Of the unstinted help which the cause of the United Nations as a whole and India in particular has received from our well-tried and trusted friends, the Prime Minister and the Government of Nepal, I cannot speak in terms of too high gratitude. The Gurkha soldiers of the Indian Army continue to maintain the highest traditions of their service. Their bravery and hardihood have contributed in no small degree to the security of India throughout the war, and I need not remind you that the Nepalese Government's own regiments remain in India for the war to assist us in building up our common strength. The relations of India with our great Ally, the Republic of China, have been drawn closer than ever before in history. The mutual esteem and knowledge won during the visit of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek in February 1942 has broadened to an understanding which bodes well for the future relations of our countries. The presence, which we have so warmly welcomed, of American and Chinese Missions in our midst; the comradeship in the common task and on our own soil with the gallant forces of our American and Chinese allies all contribute most materially to cordial relations and international good fellowship.

Recent legislation in South Africa affecting the status of Indians in that country has been a matter of profound regret to my Government and the situation which results from it is under active consideration.

Many of the essential nation-building activities are, under the present constitution, the responsibility primarily or wholly of the Provinces. But I have been anxious, during the time I have spent here, to ensure that the Centre should give every help that it properly can in regard to them, and there is much to show in the way of achievement. The revival of the Central Advisory Board of Education; the establishment of the Central Board of Health; the lavish grant

made before the war from central revenues for Rural Development; the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research the establishment of which, as I am proud to recall, was recommended by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, over which I had the honour to preside, and which has proved itself so elastic and effective an instrument for promoting technical progress ; the institution of the All-India Cattle Show Society, which has done so much to encourage the most important matter of care and breeding of cattle throughout the country; the active prosecution of nutritional research ; the great campaign against tuberculosis, organised by my wife, which has had so striking a response from all over India—these are all examples of the numerous activities in the nation-building field which have been of concern to my Government and to myself during the time that I have been here. India has reason, too, to be proud of the work that has been done in Animal Husbandry, in Dairy Research, by the Agricultural Marketing Department, by the Forest Service, and by the Survey of India. The war inevitably has interfered with certain of our plans for the development of many of these most important activities. But the war has also shown their vital significance and we have good reason to be thankful that so much had been done in the way of preparation before hostilities began.

I may be forgiven for touching on one matter which, though it is of immediate local interest to the Central Legislature, is of concern to the country as a whole. When I assumed office in 1936 I determined that during my tenure of the Viceroyalty I would do everything in my power to make Delhi worthy of its place as the capital city of India. Today, I am glad to think that that ambition has been so largely realised. Delhi is a model so far as the anti-malaria campaign, up-to-date arrangements for the disposal of sewage, the active work of an energetic and soundly-based Improvement Trust, the development of open spaces and of amenities, are concerned. Those amenities and the layout of the capital city have inevitably suffered owing to war conditions. But it is the policy of my Government, on the conclusion of the war, to remove without delay the temporary buildings that war has rendered necessary, and to restore the appearance of the Capital of India to the high level which we had been able to achieve for it.

I would like to say one word about the transport situation, and the position of the Railways in particular. The vital importance of an efficient and adequate transport system, both for the war effort and for the maintenance of civil life, has been brought very sharply home to us in these last few years. The Railways are working under very great strain. Great strain because of shortage of certain materials in war-time ; because of the immense burdens placed on the staff by war conditions. We owe a real debt to the Railway staff for the contribution they have made, and the excellent work they have done in circumstances sometimes of much difficulty. My Government are fully alive to the importance of co-ordinating transport by road, rail, and river, and no pains are being spared to turn to the best use possible any additional capacity that can be made available, and to strike a just balance between military and essential civil needs.

Activities in the field of war supplies have expanded enormously since I last addressed you. The value of orders handled by the Supply Department increased steadily from 85 crores in the first 16 months of the war, to 118 crores in 1941, 223 crores in 1942 and to 142 crores for the first five months of the present year. Nor is this the whole tale of India's effort in the field of supply. For the figures which I have given take no account of the orders which the Supply Department placed overseas, the orders placed in India for war purposes through trade channels, or the value of the finished output of the Ordnance Factories. The total value of India's contribution to war supplies is thereby immeasurably increased.

In order to deal with this growing mass of war orders the capacity of Indian industry has been greatly expanded both by the carrying out of carefully considered Government schemes for the establishment of new factories or the expansion of existing ones, and by the operation of private enterprise. In particular the Chatfield and Ministry of Supply Mission Projects for new Ordnance Factories and expansion of the old ones are now either completed or nearly complete. I may also mention the great expansions in the steel industry, in the manufacture of machine tools, in the chemical industry, and in the capacity of the rubber manufacturing industry, especially for making tyres.

Those results have not been easy to achieve in the face of the difficulties, known to all of you, which arose and still arise from the growing claims on the shipping resources of the Allies, from the closure of certain sources of raw material by the tide of Japanese aggression, and from the pressure on India's internal transport system arising from the greatly increased burden of war production and military movements. In solving these difficulties, and in maintaining its war effort despite them, India has received and is receiving the greatest help from the other allied nations, especially from His Majesty's Government and from the United States of America. The Technical Mission which our American Allies sent us last year, and the Lease-Lend Mission now with us, have been of the greatest assistance to us. We have lately had a Joint Anglo-American Steel Mission which gave valuable advice and help in connection with the production and distribution of steel. And I must pay a cordial tribute so the admirable work of the Eastern Group Supply Council, itself the outcome of the Eastern Group Conference for the initiation of which India was so largely responsible, and which did such invaluable work.

This vast expansion in the field of war production has not been achieved without material sacrifice of the goods ordinarily available to the agriculturist and the townsman. I will refer later to certain aspects of that problem. But I am glad to think that many of the industries engaged in the manufacture of vital war supplies are now better equipped to produce goods for ordinary internal consumption than they were before; the experience gained in manufacture under the stress of war adds materially to our knowledge of modern skill and technique; and we are extracting and putting to use in India more and more of our own raw materials. Over and above this, realising the

importance of providing for essential civil needs, we are now endeavouring to release for civil consumption a larger share of the industrial output of our own resources. The steps we have already taken in this direction will be steadily pursued, consistently with our responsibility for supplying the Armed Forces in India.

For the present, and for some time to come, our energies must be devoted to exploiting all available resources for the waging of war. But a moment will arrive when this process must be reversed and our efforts directed again towards the normal activities of peace, and the use and development of those resources for the rehabilitation of our economy, and the maintenance and—wherever possible—the improvement of the standards of living of our people.

Post-war reconstruction is a phrase familiar today in every continent. But the nature of this reconstruction must depend upon local conditions and the vicissitudes of battle.

In some countries the rebuilding of the bomb-shattered homes of the people, and of the factories in which they earn their livelihood, must be the first stage of recovery. Then again a nation the greater part of whose adult population of both sexes has been conscripted into the fighting services, or war industry, has to face problems vastly different, at least in degree, from those which confront us here in India where, despite the magnitude of our war effort, large sections of the population still pursue their customary avocations more or less undisturbed by the tides of war, save in so far as changes in the price level may have affected their lot for better or for worse. Our own problems in this field, vital though they are, are of a different order. War has brought to India a marked and significant increase in industrial activity, and an even more important increment in the number of persons skilled in mechanical and industrial work of all kinds. Evidently the problem is to carry forward after the war as much as we may of this enhanced industrial activity, transmuted betimes from its present warlike shape into forms capable of producing the needs of a world at peace. Certain of our industries, some of them highly important, have come through the past four years with few changes of a technical character, and for such the problems to be solved will be mainly of a commercial character.

Closely linked with industrial expansion are the problems of agricultural improvement. The best hope of permanent progress, whether in town or countryside, lies in the maintenance of a sound balance between field and factory. For the farmer, a steady and profitable market for his own produce and the opportunity to buy the products of the factory at reasonable prices : for the factory, a copious supply of raw material and a vast market for the finished product. The careful fostering of this natural, healthy and resilient partnership which is the foundation of our economic strength, and the firm base or platform from which we may develop our overseas trade, must be the first care of governments and of all concerned with industry or with agriculture. Agriculture including agricultural education and research and animal husbandry, is as I have already reminded you, a provincial

subject. So also is irrigation. But in so far as it lies within the power and within the proper field of my Government to contribute toward agricultural improvement, they are most anxious to do their utmost in that direction.

The desire for improvement, agricultural and industrial, has evidently received a marked stimulus from the circumstances of war. This manifestation will certainly derive a fresh and powerful impulse by the demobilisation in due time of the great armies upon whose valour India at present depends for her security. Many of our soldiers have become mechanically-minded as a result of their training and some may well look to industry for a livelihood in the days of peace. But the greater number will wish to return to the land. Many of those men have seen the world beyond these shores. They will wish to enjoy the best that the business of farming can provide, and they will be found receptive of new ideas and improved practices. Their return to their villages offers a unique opportunity to press forward with agricultural improvement and rural betterment. These two purposes are bound indissolubly together. "Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself." So wrote the Agricultural Commission in 1928, and all that I have seen or learned since that time confirms the correctness of that opinion.

My Government are fully alive to the urgency and the vital importance of these issues. For some considerable time past they have closely concerned with the essential business of post-war planning. They realise the necessity of being well prepared in advance for the questions that will face India, like the rest of the world, on the termination of hostilities. You may be certain, Gentlemen, that they will spare no effort to clear the ground and to plan wisely for the future, and that their deliberations will be informed by the anxious desire to assist in all those matters to which I have just referred, even where the function is not primarily theirs.

The war has brought great industrial and commercial prosperity to India. But it has laid grievous burdens on the common man and woman in this country in the procurement of their daily needs. And the disabilities which war must bring to the civil population of any belligerent country have in India been greatly accentuated by the anti-social activities of individuals who have misused conditions of scarcity, artificially created in the case of some commodities, for their own profit. During the last few months, second only to the problem of how to feed the inhabitant of this country has come the problem of how to clothe him at a cost within his means. It was therefore to the problem of cloth that the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies, which I constituted in April last, first devoted its attention. Thanks to public support, thanks also to the co-operation of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry, a scheme of control was launched on the 17th June which is being worked by Government and the industry in a friendly spirit. The Indian States are also in line with us, and I welcome this opportunity of acknowledging the irco-operation. The prices of cloth of all kinds have fallen, not only in the wholesale,

but also in the retail markets. In some of the retail markets they have fallen by more than 40 per cent. Cloth which has been hoarded is coming into the market; and under the new scheme for Standard or Utility cloth my Government have arranged the procurement of this at the rate of 150 million yards per month, to be distributed, on a basis of population, among all the Provinces and States of India till a total of 2,000 million yards has been reached. It is hoped that cloth now coming out of hoards, and Standard Cloth, will fill the breach while the Control gradually establishes itself over the whole field of Cotton Textiles with, as a result, increased production and a substantial reduction in prices below present levels. When that stage is reached it will not be necessary to continue the Standard Cloth Scheme.

But cloth is not the only commodity in regard to which advantage has been taken—and unmercifully taken—of the consumer in India by unscrupulous men. Over practically the whole range of consumers' goods, which are so necessary in the day-to-day life of the people, the two-fold blight of exorbitant prices and inequitable distribution has fallen. Measures are now well under way which will I hope, before many months have passed, bring about improvement in this respect. These measures are aimed not only at hitting the hoarder and the profiteer, but also at making consumers' goods of the commoner varieties available in greater quantities to the people of this country.

Probably the most grave and insistent problem which faces my Government today is that of ensuring an adequate distribution of foodstuffs throughout India. Early in July a Conference fully representative of the Provinces and the Indian States, discussed in close detail with my Government the difficulties of the past and plans for the immediate future. My Government have accepted the conclusions of the Conference, and they are being implemented. As I speak, an expert planning committee is at work on the evolution of a long term food policy, and its Report is expected in the immediate future. I cannot anticipate its recommendations. Nor do I wish to dwell overmuch on the past. But I would like briefly to recall to you some of the difficulties which have had to be faced during the past four years and to state in broad outline the essentials, as I see them, for the success of any future policy.

Certain limiting factors have to be recognised, even in normal times, when considering the economy of food production and distribution in India. The size of the country, with its demands on transport ; a total production of foodgrains only just sufficient in wheat and less than sufficient in rice, made up of the small margins of millions of small farmers ; the variety and at the same time the rigidity of local diet habits ; the administrative divisions throughout the country. In normal times, these factors do not give rise to any great difficulty, for the normal operations of trade can ordinarily be relied upon to satisfy all requirements and to come effectively to the rescue, without official intervention, if for any reason local scarcity should occur. But war throws normal trade movements out of gear. Imports are restricted or cut off ; transport is limited ; there is a bullish tendency in the markets ; prices rise and profits are high ; the producer or distributor

hoards for gain or consumes more of his produce; the consumer hoards from fear.

In such circumstances it is the duty of Government to step in and regulate the operations of trade so as to secure economy and fair distribution. In the United Kingdom great success has been achieved by drastic measures involving legal sanctions and the most detailed interference with private lives and private enterprise, but made effective largely by the willing co-operation of the people. In India our problem has been less compact and uniform, and control in consequence more difficult to impose. The series of Price Control Conferences instituted as soon as war broke out proved most valuable for the exchange of ideas and experience, and made recommendations which were acted on by Government. But you will recall that for the first two years of the war there was no great demand for controls. A moderate rise in prices after a lean period was welcomed. It is only since the entry of Japan into the war, and the loss of imports from Malaya and Burma, that the problem of supplies and prices has assumed serious proportions in India. Since then Governments throughout the country have had to adapt their methods to a rapidly developing situation, and to counter the cupidity and lack of confidence that have unhappily shown themselves in so many areas.

The Grow More Food campaign has led to an immense increase in the area under food crops, and a vastly-increased production of foodgrains. It is being urged on with the utmost vigour. Financial aid of well over a crore and a half of rupees has been made available from central revenues, and every possible help has been given to Provincial Governments and to the Indian States by way of technical advice. You may be certain, Gentlemen, that no pains are being, or will be, spared to get the very maximum of output that we possibly can.

To strike at the root of the causes of our difficulties which I have just mentioned my Government decided, early in this year, to remove the control price of wheat, and to import wheat from Australia. They also devised a scheme for the distribution under central control of surplus foodgrains to deficit areas. For various reasons this scheme appeared likely, at first, to fall short of the success that was hoped for. But, drastically modified in the light of experience, it remains in being. And it will hold the field as an "austerity" plan, until, having secured physical control of all available surpluses of foodgrains, administrations throughout India are in a position to control their distribution, through rationing or otherwise.

That task is no light one. But it is vital that it should be successfully performed. And full and willing co-operation by every Government and every individual is essential if its achievement is to be ensured.

The policy behind it will be a policy based on the considered views of representatives of every part of India, and I would most earnestly appeal today to all concerned to help in giving effect to it. To the solution of the common problem, to the easing of the hardships of the

poor, and the difficulties of the deficit areas in particular, there is an obligation on every one of us to lend our influence, our example, and our ready support. I am confident that in appealing for that general co-operation, and for the spirit of self-sacrifice, in a matter that touches every man and woman in this country, I shall not do so in vain.

One of the main problems which has to be faced by a country at war is the control of inflationary tendencies. In the switch over from a peace economy to a war economy the mounting scale of Government expenditure inevitably increases the volume of incomes, while the goods and services available for civilian consumption inevitably contract. To accentuate the resultant loss of equilibrium between free purchasing power and the opportunities for its use, the possibilities of import become gravely restricted by the scarcity of shipping and reduced transport facilities. In any country a situation of this kind calls for the maximum effort of vigilance and control, if chaos is to be avoided. In India there are various factors, notably the magnitude of the country and the exiguous scale of administrative services in relation to a huge and largely uninstructed population, which render close controls peculiarly difficult. The position first began to deteriorate sharply when the consequences of the war with Japan became palpable, in the latter half of 1942. By the spring of this year there were many signs of widespread hoarding and profiteering and of the emergence of a spirit of reckless speculation which gave a vicious stimulus to the factors making for a general rise in prices. The course of prices in consequence took an alarming upward turn, and it became clear that drastic action was called for and in every sphere of Government authority if this disastrous tendency was to be checked and reversed.

The Government of India are determined to do everything in their power to achieve this object and to stabilise economic conditions at tolerable levels. The drive against inflation is being pursued simultaneously in the monetary and the commodity fields. On the one hand an intensive effort is being directed to the mopping up of surplus purchasing power by taxation and borrowing, whether Central or Provincial, including a country-wide savings drive, and the Indian States have also been urged to co-operate in this programme for the benefit of the whole country. I am glad in that connection to be able to tell you, Gentlemen, that during the six weeks ending on 17th July, no less than 50 crores of rupees were invested, including 12½ crores by conversion from the 4 per cent. 1943 bonds—a most encouraging and heartening achievement. On the other hand, various forms of commodity control have been adopted, the most important, because of its effect on the cost of living, being the cloth and yarn control scheme to which I have already referred.

I have already spoken too of our efforts to deal with the various aspects of the food problem, which of course has an enormously important bearing on the tendencies we are determined to bring under control. The Government of India are also resolved to check speculation and profiteering in every sphere which affects the life of the nation, and to repress and penalize all cognate anti-social activity. I am glad

to say that the measures already taken are beginning to have a most salutary effect. Not only has the vicious upward trend been checked, but several important indices have moved sharply downwards, with a beneficial effect on the whole price-structure. But there is no room for complacency, and we do not delude ourselves that this battle is over. On the contrary the campaign has only begun and we are determined to maintain the pressure and to fight relentlessly on every part of the anti-inflationary front. The stake is nothing less than the economic safety of the country ; it demands the co-operation of all of us, and no effort can be relaxed until this insidious danger has been removed.

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to enlarge on the more obvious aspects of the impact of the war upon India's economy. The imperious needs of the emergency have, as might be expected, called forth a tremendous intensification and diversification of India's industrial activity. This has involved the fullest use of our resources of raw materials, labour, transport and productive capacity. It has led to many new efforts in fields hitherto hardly explored and to expanding schemes for the training of personnel. All this would in itself have produced a notable transformation of India's economic outlook. But there has in addition supervened a factor which in my opinion is bound to have the greatest significance for India's economic future. It is by now a familiar fact that the war has led not only to the extinction of India's external public debt but to a change in her international position from a debtor to a creditor status. This fact is bound to have a profound influence on the course and character of India's international trade in future. I would suggest that this is a subject which might well engage the careful attention and study of Indian economists and research workers. For I am convinced that it is a sphere in which there cannot fail to be scope for constructive thinking. It is not merely the outward aspect of our foreign trade which must inevitably be transformed, but I would anticipate the most far-reaching effects upon the structure of India's whole economy. When it is remembered that India's export trade in the past rested largely upon the necessity of making remittances for the service of her overseas debt, that henceforth not only will this factor be absent but on the contrary India will have to accommodate an excess of imports in order to receive the payments due to her, it will be realised that the change which has occurred is one of the deepest significance.

I turn now to the political field. As Chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee I had been most closely associated with the discussions leading up to the Act of 1935. I came out here in 1936 following on the passing of that Act. My object, when I accepted this great responsibility, was in the first place to see Provincial Autonomy introduced, and to give it every help in my power to work smoothly and successfully. In the second place, to secure the introduction of Federation. I was confident that in no way could the interests of India's constitutional development or the achievement of all her aspirations better be forwarded than by these two successive stages that were contemplated in the constitution Act of 1935. Nothing has happened since 1935 to shake me in that view.

The scheme of Provincial Autonomy has been tested by experience now over many years. It is a workable scheme and a sound scheme. Today it is in operation in six Provinces out of eleven. Where it is not in operation, that is because those to whom it gave great power, great authority and great responsibility have not been willing to carry that responsibility. That there may be difficulties from time to time, that the machine may fail under certain stresses can surprise no one with experience of public life. But taking it all in all, the scheme has fully justified itself. I can think of no way in which, consistently with safeguarding the rights and the legitimate claims of all parties, the devolution of power to popularly elected Ministers, supported by a majority in the Legislature, and willing to carry the burdens of the time, could better have been made.

At the Centre, as I have often said in recent years, I have felt with increasing force as the war has gone on, that the federal scheme, for all the imperfections that it may have contained, would have solved the bulk of India's problems had it been possible to bring it into being. No scheme is perfect : no scheme will satisfy everyone ; every scheme admits of being improved on by experience. And I know well that on various grounds the federal scheme has been the target of attacks. But, as in the case of the provincial scheme, I have no doubt as to its essential soundness. Parties, interests, individuals, all have to be prepared to make some sacrifice when it comes to matters such as this. No one in any modern State can hope to have a hundred per cent. of what he wants or what he thinks he ought to have. Compromise, adjustment, reasonable regard for the legitimate claims of other parties is the only basis on which progress can be made. Federation, had we achieved it, based as it was on the maximum measure of agreement that could be realised when the scheme was framed, would have welded together for matters of common interest the Indian States and British India. It would have secured balanced and reasonable representation of parties and interests at the Centre. It would have achieved the desire of His Majesty's Government to transfer to Indian hands those great powers at the Centre the transfer of which is provided for in the Act of 1935. And India would have participated in the War under the leadership of her own Federal Government, and her prestige and the prestige of that Government would thereby have been enhanced still further for the future.

Well, Gentlemen, the outbreak of the war and the absence of agreement between those concerned in India, made the postponement of Federation at that time inevitable. His Majesty's Government in those circumstances could not, in that way, give the early effect that they desired to their intentions. It was my duty and my happiness in those circumstances to try to find in what other way Indian public opinion, Indian public men, the great parties, could, pending the achievement of a final solution, best and most closely be associated with the government of the country and the management of the war.

If I have not been able to achieve the measure of success I hoped for, I have at any rate during the time of the war been able to bring

into being changes of great significance and far-reaching importance. It is true that I have not been able to persuade the great political parties to take their share in the government of the country. But the Government of India, a body of 7, of whom the majority were officials, has been expanded into a body of 14, 11 of whom are non-officials, and four only (including the Commander-in-Chief) Europeans. Of its broad basis, of the representation it gives to communities and interests, of the quality of its Members, there can be no question whatever. The National Defence Council, a body representative of the Indian States and of British India, has met regularly under my chairmanship since October 1941. It has established its reputation throughout India; it has constituted a most valuable liaison between the Centre, the Provinces of British India and the Indian States, and its importance from the point of view of the war effort has been very real indeed.

In other fields India's international status has been enhanced in a variety of ways. She is represented at Washington and at Chungking. China and the President of the U.S.A. are represented here. For over a year now she has had representation at the War Cabinet. She has been most closely associated with all developments of importance in connection with the war. The splendid work of her fighting men, whether by sea, by land or in the air, has added to her renown throughout the world; the magnitude of her contribution to the war effort of the Allies is known to everyone.

I regret the more that at a time when India's contribution has been so great; when in so many ways her stature has been so enhanced, greater progress should not have been possible in the constitutional field during these years of war. That there should have been no greater progress is due to no lack of effort, or enthusiasm, or goodwill on the part of His Majesty's Government or of myself. From the very beginning of the war I have done everything that man could do to bring the parties and their leaders together; to remove doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government; to achieve that sufficiency of common agreement among the parties and communities in this country, and that necessary preliminary acceptance of the legitimate claims of all, that must be the pre-condition of any constitutional advance that is worth having or that can hope for permanence. It will always be a sharp disappointment to me that these four years of war should, for all that effort, have seen us no nearer to our goal, and that, as I speak today, these internal divisions, these communal rivalries, that reluctance to place India first and to subordinate sectional ambitions and jealousies to the common interest of the country, should still stand in the way of progress.

As I have said elsewhere, those divisions, that lack of agreement, are due not to the reluctance of His Majesty's Government to transfer power to Indian hands, but to their very readiness to do so. But the fact, the lamentable fact, remains that to the grief of all of us, those divisions exist. Nor, during all that time, has a single constructive proposition—and I deeply regret to say it—been put forward by any Indian party. The whole burden of framing constructive proposals

in relation either to the interim or the final solution has been left to His Majesty's Government and to myself. We, for our part, most anxious to give all the help we could, have tried one proposal after another, and we have done our best to harmonise the sharply conflicting claims that have faced us. The best that we can devise, informed as we are by centuries of experience of Parliamentary Government, has been freely offered. Yet, while one endeavour after another by His Majesty's Government to find a solution, fair to all parties and communities in India and acceptable to India as a whole, has been rejected by one party or the other, not one such practicable alternative proposal has been put forward by any one in this country.

Yet it is India herself, if India wants a change, that must find the solution to this problem. I sometimes think that public interest and discussion in this country has, in the past, centred too much on interim constitutional changes, which, in the nature of things, must be transitory. Such changes cannot be a substitute for a constitution determined by ordinary processes and agreement; processes which cannot be completed under the stress of war. Short cuts can only be a danger alike to present unity and post-war solutions. At the stage now reached the real problem to be faced is the future problem; we must look forward and not backward.

And it is the need for India herself to find the solution that, in all friendliness and sincerity, I would most earnestly commend, Gentlemen, to your consideration today. I have said it before, and I say it again quite plainly, that the path to full and honourable co-operation with the Government of the country has always been open to those who desire it for its own sake. His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy can try to help, as they have tried in the past. But the burden is on India, on her leaders, on the principal elements in her national life. It is the discordance between those principal elements, the lack of trust, the lack of readiness to accept the legitimate claims of the minorities, or of parties, or of interests, that stand in the way. Those are obstacles that only Indians can remove.

And it is most important, and I would most earnestly urge this on you, that if there is to be any progress, Indian public men should without delay start to get together and to clear the way for it. The post-war phase is drawing rapidly nearer. His Majesty's Government, as you will remember, have voiced the hope that on the conclusion of the war Indians themselves may sit round a table and hammer out a constitution having the general support of all the principal elements in India's national life. Is India, are India's leaders, to be found unprepared when the day comes for those discussions? Is it not the course of wisdom to set to work at once, without wasting a day, to try, by discussion among themselves, to find in readiness for those discussions an accommodation of the differences that prevent progress at the moment, and to build a bridge over the profound gulfs that divide party from party and community from community? They alone can do it. The burden is on them, and not on His Majesty's Government.

And the whole field is open to them. If the proposals which His Majesty's Government have at one time or other put forward, in default of any proposals from the Indian leaders, are unacceptable to India as a whole, there is nothing to stop India's leaders from considering and devising an alternative, whatever its nature, or from trying by private negotiation with other parties in this country to secure their support for any such alternative. All I would say—and I say it again as a friend of India, and as one concerned to see her progress in whatever manner is best suited to her national genius and to the interests of all within her borders—is this—that whatever alternative and whatever scheme is devised must take account of practical considerations; must have the general support of all the important elements in India's national life. No scheme, however good it may look on paper, that ignores important elements or interests, that overlooks the essential necessity for substantial agreement inside India as its basis, has any hope of surviving for long. A national Government can be a reality only if it is generally representative, if it has the general support of the major parties and of the people as a whole, if its establishment leads to the assuaging of communal and other bitterness and rivalry, and to the harmonising of all the many divergent points of view that a country such as India, with its great range of climate, of races, its different historical traditions, must always present.

I would like to take this occasion to say a word of warm thanks to the Indian Press for all the help that it has given me during my time in India. Occasions there may have been when there were differences of view on matters connected with the Press; misunderstandings there may have been from time to time. But I remain deeply grateful to this great institution for its fairness; its eager anxiety to serve the public; its concern to observe, and if possible to improve, the best traditions of journalism. And I would not like to leave India without paying this public tribute to it, and to that hard working body of intelligent and able men by whom India is so well served in the Press.

In a few weeks now I shall hand over the reins of office to my successor. In Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell India will have as Viceroy one who has proved himself through a long and glorious career one of the great leaders of men in the field; and one of the outstanding soldiers of our time. But you will find in him also, and this I can say from personal experience of two years of close, intimate and most friendly collaboration, an understanding, wise and sagacious statesman; a man of sound political sense and judgment; a leader of courage and tenacity, whose wide human sympathy, whose affection for India and whose profound interest in her problems is well-known. In the difficult days that lie ahead—for the problems of peace are no less exhausting and complex than the problems we have had to face in the war—his ripe experience, his fresh and up-to-date knowledge of India and his sincerity and openness of mind will be of a value to this country that cannot be overstated.

I cannot leave you today, Gentlemen, without in conclusion paying a tribute to the spirit of the people of India, whether British India or the Indian States; to the confidence, enthusiasm and courage

which they have shown through four years of a devastating and exhausting war, and to the cheerful readiness with which they have borne the many burdens that total war involves and the privations and hardships inseparable from it. Theirs has been a great achievement on the home front, as well as in the field, and one on which India will look back with pride and the world with admiration.

I would like, too, to say a word of sincere and heartfelt thanks to the personnel of all the Services in this country. To them is due great credit for all that they have done to maintain law and order, to deal with the innumerable problems of administration that war throws up, to grapple with the vital tasks that fall to be discharged by them in the interests of the people of India as a whole. Without their loyal, unfailing, and self-sacrificing public work, the administration of the country could not have been carried on, or India have made the contribution that she has so proudly and so gladly made to the victory of the Allied cause.

Gentlemen, I will keep you no longer. I thank you most warmly for the attention with which you have listened to me today. My best good wishes go to you, both individually, and as a Central Legislature, for the future, and my most cordial gratitude for all the work that I have been privileged to see you perform during my term of office, and for that public spirit that has so consistently marked your conduct of affairs."

59. "I WAS WITH YOUR FATHERS"

"Nothing has given me greater pleasure during the 7½ years that I have held charge as Viceroy than my close association with the armed forces in India", said Lord Linlithgow addressing a parade of British and Indian units at Poona on August 28, 1943. **Aug. 28, 1943**

He recalled: "A quarter of a century ago I was with your fathers in another great war, so I know very well how you all feel about your minds." Extracts from the speech :—

" I am very glad to see today, representative detachments from units in the Poona area. Nothing has given me greater pleasure during the seven and a half years that I have held charge as Viceroy than my close association with the armed forces in India. Your efficiency for war and your welfare have been to me matters of abiding interest and concern.

Many of you are serving far from your homes and from your own folk on the fourth year of a world-wide war. A quarter of a century ago I was with your fathers in another great war, so I know very well how you all feel about your minds. I know, too, that in the end you will be immensely proud to have taken part in this tremendous struggle. Many of you were at home in Britain during the fierce German attacks from air upon our cities in 1940. You can testify to the sublime courage with which that formidable onslaught was met and overcome by the men and women of our land. They endured and they triumphed because they felt that the causes for which we are waging this war were worth fighting for.

They will be watching us, those brave and patient people, here in this theatre of war during the months before us and through the battles that must be fought. The cause at stake here is the very plain one, what they struggled for in the streets of our cities and villages throughout the blitz of 1940. It would not be of much use to have beaten the Germans and the Italians if we were unable to settle accounts with the Japanese. I know your patience is being tested now, and I know too how very wearisome can be the time of waiting. I am sure you are keen to be at them and to get done with the job. Well, you will not have very long to wait now, and when the call comes I have every confidence that you will do yourselves high credit and bring fresh renown to the Imperial Arms.

To Indian troops represented on this parade I would say also this : Model your conduct in battle upon the performance of those of your brothers in arms who upon many a hard-fought battle have in this war added new laurels to the great name of their motherland. The safety of this country and its honour are in your care. When the day of battle comes, fight hard!

Meantime the duty of all of you is quite clear. It is to do your utmost, every man in his job, to raise the fighting efficiency of every unit, and the co-operation between units, to the highest possible pitch. Do not allow staleness to creep in. The tide has turned and things everywhere are going well for us. Now is the time to redouble our efforts, and when the opening comes, to go for the ' knock-out '.

Work on weapon drills and tactical exercises for all you are worth. You will be very well repaid for your pains when the days of trial come: that I can promise you. Wherever you go and whatever task you are called upon to perform, I wish you one and all the very best of luck . . . "

60. MUKTESWAR AND IZATNAGAR

He could think of nothing likely to be of greater benefit to the Indian cultivator than sound livestock improvement which must be based on three major sciences, namely, animal genetics, animal nutrition and animal medicine—all provided for at Mukteswar and Izatnagar, said Lord Linlithgow addressing the staff of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute. He regretted, however, that the war had interrupted greater progress in the work of the institution.

Lord Linlithgow travelled by air to Izatnagar on September 6, 1943, *to pay a farewell visit to the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, a large section of which he had opened in* 1939.

Speech to the assembled staff :—

" It has been a real pleasure to me to have the opportunity of flying over here today and I am very glad to see you all. I think you all know how deep has been my concern for the advancement of research work in the veterinary field ever since I first made an intensive study of India's needs when I was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. As Viceroy for 7½ years I have watched your progress

with sympathy and interest and I should like to assure you what very high importance I attach to the work which you are doing here.

Your main institute was founded as long ago as 1890 but I can say with certainty that experience has fully justified the setting up of the Izatnagar sub-station in 1913 for the purpose of manufacturing biological products. In 1939 I had the privilege, when the Government of India decided to expand the available facilities for the study of other sciences connected with livestock improvement, of opening the Animal Nutrition Wing here and very valuable work has been done in the new laboratories I opened then.

It is unfortunate that buildings for the Animal Genetics Section and for two new blocks for vaccine production and Wool Research could not be constructed during the war. Many good causes have suffered during these years of strife and India would certainly have been the richer if this expansion of your accommodation had been achieved. At the moment, however, we all rejoice in the extremely encouraging war news and I trust that when we have defeated Germany and Japan it may be found possible to proceed soon with the construction work you need.

Sound livestock improvement must be based on three major sciences, namely, animal genetics, animal nutrition and animal medicine all of which are now provided for at Mukteswar and Izatnagar. If individual research workers play their part I think there is every reason to anticipate in the not too distant future great advances in this subject, advances that will be of lasting importance and I can think of nothing that is likely to be of greater benefit to the Indian cultivator and so to India at large. In such advances I have every confidence that Dr. Minett and his expert team will play a distinguished part. . . . "

61. CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF HEALTH

" We are all anxious to see after the war", said Lord Linlithgow in a farewell message to the Central Advisory Board of Health on October 4, 1943, " an era of determined effort to raise the Indian standard of living ". The message was read out by the Hon'ble Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Text of message :—* **Oct. 4, 1943**

" When I spoke at the inaugural meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Health in 1937 I expressed the conviction that the Board would serve a useful purpose in providing facilities for discussion of the problems of common interest affecting the health and well-being of the inhabitants of the Provinces and States in India. The reports issued

*The Hon'ble Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh said in the course of his inaugural address :—

" It is my hope before the year 1944 ends to give the country a programme of agricultural development which would aim at providing nourishing food for all, a programme of health and housing aiming at improving living conditions and a programme of education aiming at equipping our whole population with knowledge. It is my hope that if our people are physically fit and mentally alert, there is nothing that can prevent their taking their proper place in the comity of nations, if political and economic integrity of India is maintained."

appeal. The initiative she took has led to a considerable measure of solid achievement in this vital field and I can testify to the many hours of hard labour and thought that she has devoted to this and other good causes.

The interrupted schemes for developing further the amenities of the capital were dear to both of us and we shall hope, after the war, to read of their completion. At present, as you fully recognise, it is out of the question to go ahead with any building projects unless they are immediate necessities, and usually they must be connected with the war effort. It is, however, gratifying to think that the anti-malaria scheme, thanks to the devoted efforts of an expert band of workers, has been so very successful and has become a model for the whole world. It is good of you to recognise my own share in the inception and carrying through of this great scheme for which many thousands have daily (and nightly) reason to be thankful.

Your municipality quite properly expects to be able to look to the Government of India and ultimately to the Viceroy himself for special interest and encouragement. So you will I know share my own deep satisfaction that I should be handing over this office to a successor of such exceptional distinction and well-proved wisdom as Lord Wavell. The burden on the Viceroy was always heavy and the war has made it doubly so. But I know Lord Wavell, and I feel very confident that in his assistance to you over the affairs of New Delhi as in the wider sphere he will demonstrate most conclusively that His Majesty the King-Emperor could not have made a sounder choice of Viceroy. I am glad also to think too that you will have a friend at Court in the new Private Secretary whom I appointed as Chief Commissioner of Delhi and who is exceptionally well aware of your needs and of your difficulties.

You express anxiety about the removal after the war of the many temporary buildings which must be admitted to mar the beauty of the city. As I announced in my recent speech to the houses of the legislature it is the definite policy of the Government of India to remove those buildings as soon as possible. It is the intention that all the temporary buildings that have been constructed for use as offices and hostels, etc., in the neighbourhood of the Secretariat, in the Irwin Stadium, near the Willingdon aerodrome, in the neighbourhood of Connaught Circus and in various blocks, which, under the New Delhi Development Scheme, had been allotted for other purposes will be removed as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities. That removal will be a welcome sign of the outright victory which we all intend to win. When the day of victory dawns and the enemies of man's progress are humbled and cast down, we shall all look forward, and I think with good reason, to a brilliant future for this city. Resources will be available for undertaking a great effort to raise the standard of living throughout India's territories, and New Delhi will certainly gain at least indirect benefit : while additional advantage will accrue from the development of air travel for which this seems likely to be an important nodal point.

. Her Excellency and I will watch your progress with intense and personal interest. We thank you again most warmly for coming to bid us farewell and for the very generous terms of your address. We wish you all good fortune and success.

Goodbye to you all."

64. FAREWELL ADVICE TO PRINCES

In his farewell address to the Chamber of Princes on October 14, 1943, Lord Linlithgow reaffirms his "faith and confidence" in the Federal ideal from the point of view equally of British India, Indian States and India as a whole. Indian unity is "wholly consistent with the survival and orderly development of the Indian States". **Oct. 14, 1943**

The Viceroy draws attention to "the great developments of recent years, profound changes, new forces, new ideas, a new attitude of mind in the international field". In the face of them, no reasonable man amongst the Princes would deny that "the Crown's obligations to protect carry with them equally binding obligations to ensure, if need be, that what is protected continues to be worthy of protection".

His Excellency reviews the progress of the scheme designed to secure for the smaller States, through co-operative measures among themselves or under the aegis of larger States, a standard of administrative efficiency beyond their individual resources. He deeply regrets that final decisions could not be reached during his Viceroyalty on the "scheme for safeguarding standards of administration, particularly after the period of a ruler's minority, by the application of formal constitutional methods for the transaction of State business", and on the problem as to what proportion of a State's revenue should be earmarked for the Ruler and his family and the items which should come within the scope of Civil Lists and Privy Purses.

He refers to Indian States which have become "an example and an inspiration to other parts of India" and urges that it must be their object "to ensure that that shall be the case in every area".

It is the "true and legitimate function" of the Crown Representative "to awaken the indifferent to consciousness of the dangers that threaten them; to point out deficiencies; to suggest remedies; to co-ordinate individual initiatives for the benefit of all".

The Viceroy pays a glowing tribute to the Indian Princes' co-operation in the war effort. In presenting a united front, the States have also most willingly and comprehensively applied to their territories the British Indian Ordinances and other arrangements devised to meet emergencies.

Lord Linlithgow assures the Princes that in his successor, Lord Wavell, "the great soldier and distinguished administrator", the States would have "a wise, sagacious and sympathetic friend".

Extracts from the address :

"Let me first pay tribute to the memory of those who are no longer with us. Since our last meeting, six members of the Chamber have passed away—Their Highnesses of Bikaner, Jhalawar, Ajaigarh and Jhabua, the Raja of Khilchipur and the Raja of Kurundwad

(Junior) who was a Representative Member and I have just heard with very great regret of the death of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin whose State I had the pleasure of visiting less than two months ago and who had done so much in the short period of his rule for the good of his people.

His Highness the Chancellor will be voicing our tribute to these departed Princes. I will only add to what I have already said this morning about His Highness of Bikaner, a special word of deep regret at the untimely demise of His Highness of Jhalawar, a prince of exceptional promise, selflessly devoted to the discharge of his high responsibilities. Rarely, if ever, did he fail to attend the meetings of this Chamber, and his absence today leaves a gap which we all deplore.

To those who have succeeded to Rulership and membership of this Chamber I offer a most cordial welcome. To His Highness of Bikaner we confidently look to carry on the great services rendered to the Order of Princes by his illustrious father. It is a pleasure, too, to see here today for the first time the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and Their Highnesses of Dhrangadhra, Manipur and Jhabua, and also the Rajas of Baghat and Kurundwad (Senior) and the Rao of Jigni who have been elected as Representative Members since our last meeting. Nor must I omit to mention the recent admission to membership of the Raja of Shahpura, the Nawab of Kurwai and the Rajas of Talcher, Kalsia and Phaltan, four of whom we are glad to welcome in person today. . . .

Naturally, my thoughts turn first to the sphere of active operations and I would at the outset warmly thank and congratulate those of Your Highnesses who have been able to hearten and encourage the troops by personal visits to the various Fronts.

I would wish, too, to pay a special tribute to the invaluable assistance in the war effort that has been given by His Highness the Chancellor. Not only has His Highness rendered service of great value as one of the Representatives of India at the War Cabinet, he has taken advantage of his absence from India to perform sterling service as one of the spokesmen of this great country overseas. And he has spared no pains to acquaint himself in the fullest detail with the organisation of war effort in the United Kingdom. I hope that in the course of this session we shall hear from His Highness himself some account of his experiences. But, for myself, I would like to add my testimony to the value of his contribution, the importance of the contacts he has made, the encouragement that his visit has given to the troops and to the munition workers that he has visited.

The Indian States Forces have taken full advantage of the opportunities that have come to them to win fresh distinction on the battlefield. Comparisons are rash. And such distinction is of course largely dependent upon opportunity. But I would mention the gallant record of the Kashmir Mountain Battery, the 1st Patiala Infantry, the Jind Infantry, the Jodhpur Sardar Infantry, two Jaipur Battalions, the Tripura Rifles and the Tehri-Garhwal and Malerkotla

Sappers and Miners. Nor should I fail to record my gratitude for the manner in which the States as a whole have adopted the scheme devised to raise the standard of efficiency among the higher ranks of their Forces. I realise and appreciate the difficulties that may on occasion confront Your Highnesses in these and other connected matters. But I know too that you on your part will recognise that the first duty of the Military Adviser-in-Chief is to devise schemes to rectify such deficiencies as come to notice under the stress and strain of war. A new scheme for the exchange of officers, and another for providing advanced training for State units will I understand shortly be put forward. I am convinced that Your Highnesses will continue to view such proposals with sympathy and realism, and that I and my successor can look for your full co-operation over them. . . .

But it is not only to humble homes that the war has brought sad and untimely bereavements. I spoke last year of an Heir-Apparent who had met his death in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force. Since then a similar blow has fallen upon two other members of this Chamber and I feel sure that Your Highnesses would wish me to tender deep sympathy and condolences to the Raja of Sangli and the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj. . . .

I cannot speak too highly of the magnificent response consistently made by the Indian States to the urgent needs of this critical time. They have shown unstinted generosity and co-operation: thanks to their help, great aerodromes, strategical projects of every kind, have sprung up in the territory of the Indian States. Facilities of every kind have been most readily granted not only to British and Indian forces, but to the forces of our Allies; and in particular certain States, at the cost of wide stretches of famous forests most carefully guarded in the past, have helped immensely in the training of men in the new science of jungle warfare.

I referred in my last address to the steadily expanding scope of measures to achieve the maximum co-ordination of effort between the States and British India. Instances of such co-operation could be multiplied indefinitely and there is no time to catalogue them today. But I would make mention of one notable incident in which a group of hostile agents were arrested with most commendable, promptitude almost immediately after they had landed from an enemy submarine on the shores of an Indian State. Further and most valuable demonstrations of this united front as between the States and Provinces, are to be found in the more prosaic but not less vital sphere of war time legislation, where States have most willingly and comprehensively applied to their territories the British Indian Ordinances and other arrangements devised to meet the various emergencies which have been constantly arising.

Let me add one further instance in which the States and their subjects are making an important contribution to our resources. The Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department was, up to the outbreak of war, functioning on commercial lines as a self-supporting organisation making no contribution to the general revenues of British India.

Such an arrangement is of course only fair to the States who by entering, as the vast majority of them have done, into postal unity with British India, undertook no liability to submit to indirect taxation in the form of surcharges on the normal economic rates for the transmission of letters and telegrams. The exigencies of war time finance have however compelled the Government of India, following in this matter the lead of the Government of the United Kingdom, to raise the postal and telegraphic rates for the express purpose of making a substantial surplus available as a contribution towards war expenditure. It was of course impracticable to confine this process to British India, and it is with deep appreciation that I learn that the States are pressing no objection to the additional financial burden which it places on themselves and on their subjects. The financial value of that burden cannot immediately be precisely computed. But given the areas and the populations affected, it cannot but be substantial. And its acceptance is yet another and a most valuable voluntary contribution by the Indian States towards the prosecution of the war.

The same uniform and wholehearted co-operation has been shown in regard to those grim problems of the war which have been so distressingly prominent during the current year—food, cloth, inflation. In our efforts to combat the food crisis we have had the benefit of full association at every stage with accredited representatives of the States. Those who have a surplus have freely placed it at our disposal. Those in deficiency have of course participated in the common resources. I could but wish that those resources had proved more adequate to their needs. I have particularly in mind the States to Travancore and Cochin which, deprived of their normal supplies of Burma rice, have borne a particularly heavy burden. I would like to pay a tribute both to the efforts made by the States Governments concerned, with which I was able to acquaint myself at first hand during my recent visit to South India, to cope with a situation so distressing, and to the patience and fortitude of the population so sorely tried. . . .

In the steps that have had to be taken to remedy the shortage of cloth there is the same record of friendly helpfulness. Many important centres of the textile industry are situated in Indian States, and I am deeply grateful to the States concerned for the manner in which they have placed the products of their looms at the disposal of the Central Government ; often at no small sacrifice to themselves.

Inflation is one of the gravest problems that faces us today. It is a problem in the handling of which the States and British India are equally concerned, and in which they have a common interest. Action to combat inflation is essential, for it is a threat to everyone of us, and to India as a whole. I realise that anti-inflationary measures present a complex problem in the case of the States, having regard to the varying conditions of their fiscal arrangements and their relative backwardness in industrial development. But I know that Your Highnesses share my view that the question is one that must be resolutely tackled. And I look for valuable results from the discussions

that I myself have had with some of you on this topic, discussions which my Political Adviser is, on my behalf, continuing and developing during this week. I would like to take this opportunity to make it clear beyond any question that such checks and prohibitions as it has been necessary to apply are based solely upon the present overriding need to conserve and regulate the resources of the country as a whole so that the output of essential supplies should not be curtailed or disturbed for the benefit of local or personal interests. There is not, and there cannot be, any question of their being designed to stifle the birth, or the progress, of industrial development in the Indian States.

Matters such as these, and others too numerous to mention, will of course come under review in connection with post-war development and reconstruction. The plans of the Central Government for dealing with that great problem are already well advanced. I am glad to be able to assure Your Highnesses that they contain full provision for associating your States with its numerous ramifications, and I am glad too to think that many of your ablest Ministers are included in the various Committees that are being set up.

Public opinion must inevitably take the closest interest in these activities of reconstruction. I am the more grateful for the response of so many States to the advice which I offered to you at our last session in regard to the National War Front movement. That movement was established when the war outlook was dark and threatening. As the intervening months have passed, it has developed into a publicity organisation concerned with every aspect of public morale. It is some measure of Your Highness' support of this vital work that in 15 months, 287 States have brought War Front organisations into being. That is a response of which the States have every right to be proud and, as the founder of the Movement, I congratulate Your Highnesses on it. And, though the name of the War Front Movement must ultimately die, the spirit and work behind it should live. For it contains tremendous potentialities for establishing means by which the good in man and in life may be more widely known and the things that are evil challenged and destroyed.

Before I leave the dominating topic of the war I would add a few words of appreciation of the generosity shown by so many of Your Highnesses towards refugees from other countries whose sufferings have been immensely greater than ours. In particular I have in mind your aid towards establishing a temporary refuge in India for a great number of Polish children. Here again I must refer to the outstanding energy and personal interest, and to the most generous personal aid, which has been given by His Highness the Chancellor. What he has done for Polish children will long be remembered, not only by those children to whom his kindness has been so real, but by the great Polish nation. I should mention also the similar settlement in the Kolhapur State where facilities have been most readily and generously provided and where the personal sympathy of Her Highness the Maharani Regent has been of the utmost value.

Time presses and I have much to say on matters of even greater importance, but I could not forgive myself if I failed today to thank Your Highnesses for your lavish support in two matters unconnected with the war but specially near to the hearts of Her Excellency and myself. I refer of course to my wife's Anti-Tuberculosis campaign and to the activities of the All-India Cattle Show Society.

I cannot over-estimate my sense of the importance of the Anti-Tuberculosis campaign. It is I am certain of profound significance to the future of this country. And it is a very real happiness to my wife, who has spared no effort for it during her time here, and to myself, to think that we leave India with the campaign against this scourge so firmly established. The support of the All-India Cattle Show Society by more than 60 States has been continuous and invaluable. I am grateful in particular that it should have been greater even than before in this current year in spite of the other numerous demands on your resources. I feel certain that the work of the Society merits in the fullest degree the friendly co-operation of Your Highnesses, and that it responds to instincts deeply rooted in every great agricultural country. The fight against tuberculosis, the struggle to improve India's cattle and so the condition of the peasant and the countryside, are very close to the hearts of both of us, and my wife and I, I can assure you, will in the days after we have left India, continue to take the liveliest and most vivid interest in both. . . .

It has been suggested to me more than once that the immense aggregate importance of these States as an element in the Indian continent, and their vital concern in the solution of all Indian problems, have not always been fully appreciated. I cannot believe that that can be the case, or that any well-informed observer can fail to realise the vast area which the Indian States occupy, the size of their population, their great resources, the outstanding place which they hold in the history of India, and the extent to which the future of this great sub-continent must be, and is, of immediate and profound concern to them. But the very size and importance of the Indian States as a whole makes the problems that Your Highnesses, and the Crown Representative of the day have to face the more significant.

Your Highnesses have often heard me refer both in my previous addresses to this Chamber, and in other places, to my own view of the significance and value of the Federal scheme which was the coping-stone of the Act of 1935. There was no doubt that much could be said in point of detail against that scheme. Equally, as I have said before, much could have been and can be urged against any scheme that can be devised for the constitutional future of India. But just as I have always believed that the Federal scheme was the best answer that could at that time have been devised for the problems of British India equally it was, and is my sincere belief that such a scheme is the best answer from the point of view of the Indian States, and from the point of view of India as a whole. Events beyond our control have necessitated changes in our plans, and to some extent have altered the circumstances with which we have to deal and in which we have

to build. But speaking here to Your Highnesses today for the last time I wish to reaffirm my faith and confidence in the Federal ideal, and in the contribution which the realisation with general support of that ideal, whatever adjustments might prove necessary in regard to particular aspects of it, would make to Indian unity and to the constitutional future of India.

And when I speak of unity I need not emphasise to Your Highnesses the importance of all of us standing together in the conditions of the modern world. It is very difficult for units, however large ; whatever their form of Government ; whatever their resources, to exist save in relation to, and as part of a larger whole. The bonds that link units one to another may be light as gossamer. But they exist : they are there : and their strength and their significance cannot be denied. If that is true of a continent as large as Europe, it is true, I am certain, equally of this great sub-continent of India ; and inside that sub-continent it holds good equally especially when common interests are so largely involved, of the Indian States. That that unity is wholly consistent with the survival and the orderly development of the Indian States ; that the Indian States with their distinguished history, with their special relations with the Crown so fully recognised, based as they are on treaties, sanads, and engagements, with their long tradition, can make a great and useful contribution to India's future I never have doubted, and I do not doubt today. It must be our business to see in what way that contribution can best be made, and what best can be its character.

I spoke just now of survival accompanied by development. The juxtaposition of these two words is of deep and vital significance, as I know that Your Highnesses fully realise. There have been great developments of recent years, profound changes, new forces, new ideas, a new attitude of mind in the international field. All these facts have to be taken into account. And in the face of them you and I, who have to live in the world of today, must think and act realistically. It would be an injustice to Your Highnesses were I to assume that any reasonable man amongst you would deny that the Crown's obligations to protect carry with them equally binding responsibilities to ensure, if need be, that what is protected continues to be worthy of protection. On the contrary I am glad to think that that most important proposition is widely accepted among you. I can claim during the period of my Viceroyalty to have spared no effort to assist Your Highnesses to give effect to the principles that underlie it. And I should indeed have regarded it not only as a dereliction of my duty but as a grave disservice to the Princely Order had I in the least degree relaxed my efforts to do so.

When I last addressed this Chamber I referred to three particular directions towards which those efforts were, in consultation and co-operation with Your Highnesses, being exerted.

I spoke firstly of the decisive necessity in regard to the smaller States of some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative efficiency which is beyond their individual resources.

That progress has since continued with encouraging results—particularly in Eastern India, from which area I am glad to see so many Rulers present today. I congratulate them on what they have been able to achieve and I look forward with confidence to its consolidation and extension. In other areas too progress has been made and new ideas are afoot. But I have become increasingly conscious of the difficulties which arise, not so much from any lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Rulers concerned as from the nature of the foundations on which they have to build. I devoutly wish that these difficulties could before my departure from India have been surmounted by the formulation and application of general principles acceptable to all concerned. But in matters so delicate undue haste might well have defeated the object in view. I have had to content myself therefore with giving instructions that the progress hitherto achieved and the difficulties thereby revealed shall within the next few weeks be systematically reviewed and considered by my advisers, so that thereafter, so soon as can conveniently be arranged, my successor may be able to initiate discussions either with the Standing Committee or with selected representatives of the category of States principally concerned, from which discussions a clear plan of action may emerge. I appeal most earnestly to Your Highnesses to co-operate whole-heartedly in these processes. For I regard them, and I cannot emphasise this too strongly, as being literally of vital importance for the vast majority of you.

Your Highnesses will realise that measures such as these to which I now refer, involving as they do a certain measure of sacrifice on the part of those small units to which I have mentioned, do at the same time represent a most valuable contribution to the improvement of administration, and to the removal of criticism, consistently with the survival and development, by means of co-operation among themselves or under the ægis of larger States, of the smaller States affected. The sacrifices involved, as I have observed to Your Highnesses on previous occasions, are an inevitable accompaniment of the co-operative method. But I feel no shadow of doubt that they are justified in terms of the benefits involved, whether we test those benefits by the improvement of the standard of administrative services and amenities or by wider political considerations. A heavy obligation rests upon us all. And that obligation makes it difficult—and I am certain that Your Highnesses agree with me—to view with equanimity conditions in which, owing to the smallness of the area, or of the resources, of individual States, it may be impossible to secure the application of modern standards of justice, or of administration, to the inhabitants of the area concerned.

I would add that the line of argument which I have been following in regard to small States is no less applicable to the Jagirs and *Thikanas* which, though forming an integral part of certain States, still maintain some semblance of jurisdictional and administrative machinery. Let me make it clear beyond any question that the times are no longer propitious for Jagirdars and Thakurs who seek to assert or perpetuate a semi-independence wholly incompatible with their limited resources,

and so, inevitably harmful to the interests of the inhabitants of the areas concerned.

I spoke also at the last session of this Chamber of a scheme for safeguarding standards of administration, particularly after the period of a Ruler's minority by the application of formal constitutional methods for the transaction of State business. I referred too to the difficult and delicate problem of determining what proportion of a State's revenue can appropriately be ear-marked for the use of the Ruler and his family, and what precisely are the items which should legitimately come within the scope of Civil Lists and Privy Purses. Here again I am denied the satisfaction of seeing final decisions reached during the period of my Viceroyalty. I deeply regret that that should be the case. For the issue is one of prime importance. And it is one in which close and critical interest is taken not only in India, but far outside the borders of this country. I do therefore sincerely trust that in regard to it an early solution, and one that may command general commendation not only in this country but outside, may be forthcoming. The recent discussions between representative Princes and my advisers have been of real value, and I confidently hope that they will shortly yield those solid and generally acceptable results to which I have just referred.

I would like to take this occasion to say how much as Crown Representative I value the advice and the frank expression of the views of representative Princes in matters such as this. For the decisions that have to be taken by the Crown Representative are often grave ones, and he will, I am sure, at all times be anxious to be assured, before he reaches a conclusion that he is fully cognisant of the views of the Princely Order on matters so directly concerning members of that Order, and of the considerations that weigh with them.

Your Highnesses will realise, as I do, that the problems that face you today are far from simple, and that there lies ahead a period in which problems more difficult still may have to be confronted. If the best interests of the States, the best interests of India, are to be safeguarded, we must be at pains to face the facts and be willing, even at the cost of sacrifice, to make such adjustments as the turn of world events makes necessary. I know from my own extensive journeyings among the States to what an extent certain Indian States have become an example and an inspiration to other parts of India. It must be our object to ensure that that shall be the case in every area. And, indeed, it is essential in the interests of the States and in the interests of their survival that they should not fall below modern standards of administration in any way. I need not assure Your Highnesses as I talk of those difficult and delicate matters that to the extent that I, or my representatives on my instructions, have had to take a particular line in regard to co-operative measures and the like, I have been concerned solely—and it is the true and legitimate function in this sphere of the Crown Representative—to awaken the indifferent to consciousness of the dangers that threaten them; to point out deficiencies; to suggest remedies; to co-ordinate individual initiatives

for the benefit of all. But you may be certain that at all times the underlying consideration that has governed any decisions that I have had to take, and that will, I am sure, govern such decisions as may fall to be taken by my successors, is that the Indian States shall fit themselves to play that great and positive part in the development of India as a whole which their importance and their history justifies; and that it is to the interest of the Princely Order that such weaknesses as may today exist, whether in administration or organisation, shall be eliminated with the minimum of delay.

I would not like to conclude my observations today without again thanking Your Highnesses and the Princely Order for the invaluable help that you have given to the war effort, and without thanking you, too, for the help that I have had in the efforts I have made while I have been Viceroy to further the modernization of administration in the States, and for the help you have given me on so very many critical issues directly affecting the well-being and the future of your States. These are testing times—all of us realise that. But Your Highnesses represent great and distinguished traditions and the Indian States do as a whole represent a great potentiality for good in the times that lie before us. On the eve therefore of my laying down the great office which I have had the honour to hold I appeal to Your Highnesses here today, and through you to the Princely Order and to all who exercise authority and influence in the Indian States, to see to it that the splendid opportunity lying before the Rulers of those States is not missed, and to ensure that advantage is taken of it with such vigour and foresight, with such judicious blending of old and new, with such subordination of narrow personal and local interests, to true patriotism that the future of India—of the Indian States in close collaboration with British India—may be ensured, and that future generations may remember with gratitude the part played by the leaders of Princely India in securing the stability of that common and glorious inheritance.

When next this Chamber meets it will be under the Chairmanship of the great soldier and distinguished administrator who is now about to succeed me as Viceroy. Lord Wavell's wide range of knowledge and experience, the interest that he has always taken in the Indian States, are well known to Your Highnesses; and in the difficulties and the problems that have to be faced by the Indian States, I know that in him the States will have a wise, sagacious, and sympathetic friend. And now before I close my address let me thank you all once again, and that most warmly and sincerely, for all the help and the constant and generous support that you have given to me in the 7½ years during which I have had the honour to preside over the deliberations of Your Highnesses, and to represent the Crown in its dealings with the Indian States and the Princely Order".

PART IV

CONTACT WITH PARTY LEADERS AND CORRESPONDENCE

1. VICEROY MAKES MR. GANDHI'S PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

Perhaps for the first time in the history of British Indian Government a Viceroy took the initiative and invited a party leader to meet him when about the middle of 1937 Lord Linlithgow intimated to Mr. Gandhi that he would welcome an opportunity of meeting him and was "anxious to make his personal acquaintance". This was after Congressmen had formed Ministries in six out of the eleven autonomous Indian provinces as a result of the general elections of the year.

In his broadcast immediately after taking the Oaths of Allegiance and of Office on April 18, 1936, Lord Linlithgow had declared that the working of representative Government, amongst other things, required that he should as far as practicable be in touch with the leaders of all political parties as well as with the trend of opinion in the electorates. He was anxious at the same time that it should be understood that when he granted an interview to a party leader, it did not indicate that he favoured the leader or the party. "This rule and convention", he added, "is well understood in Great Britain as between the Crown and political leaders in that country."

I.

Text of the communique on Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy on August 4, 1937: *

His Excellency the Viceroy granted an interview to Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the 4th of August.

The interview was in response to a letter addressed by His Excellency during his recent tour to Assam to Mr. Gandhi, in which the Viceroy intimated that he would welcome the opportunity of meeting Mr. Gandhi if the latter was able to come to see him at Delhi on his return journey; that he had no public business to discuss, but was anxious to make his personal acquaintance, and trusted, therefore, that it would be convenient to Mr. Gandhi to accept his invitation.

* Lord Linlithgow saw Mr. Jinnah on Sept. 4, 1937.

Mr. Gandhi in reply informed the Viceroy that he had already been intending to ask His Excellency to grant him an interview to discuss the ban on the entry of Khan Sahib Abdul Ghaffar Khan into the North-West Frontier Province and his own entry into that Province, since, while there was no bar against his visiting the North-West Frontier Province, he had not intended to do so without the approval of the authorities. The interview with the Viceroy would in these circumstances be doubly welcome and Mr. Gandhi assumed that His Excellency would see no objection to discussing these matters.

The Viceroy listened with interest to Mr. Gandhi's views on the matters in question and undertook to communicate them to the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province. The interview otherwise was entirely general and personal in character, the principal subject of discussion being rural uplift and the improvement of the condition of the peasantry.

II

Text of the communique on Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy on April 15, 1938:

Towards the end of March, His Excellency the Viceroy wrote to Mr. Gandhi to say that it would give him pleasure to renew their acquaintance before His Excellency moved to Simla, and to suggest that it might be convenient for Mr. Gandhi to pay him a visit if he could pass through Delhi on his way from Calcutta.

His Excellency added that he had no special business to discuss with Mr. Gandhi, but would welcome an opportunity of seeing him again.

Mr. Gandhi replied that he had pleasure in accepting His Excellency's invitation, and the interview took place on April 15.

The meeting, which was of a very cordial character, dealt with general topics and lasted about 1½ hours.

2. JOINT MEETING WITH PARTY LEADERS

Following his announcement of October 18, 1939, *Lord Linlithgow proceeded to explore the means of giving effect to the proposals. He discussed the position with Mr. Gandhi and the Presidents of the Congress and the Muslim League jointly on November* 1. *He suggested that they might enter upon discussions between themselves in order to reach a basis of agreement in the provincial field and, thereafter, let His Excellency have proposals for participation of representatives of the two parties in the Central Government as members of his Executive Council. He added that it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of differences in the provinces.*

Text of the correspondence between His Excellency and the party leaders which was published along with Lord Linlithgow's statement of November 5 (page 211) :—

I.

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian National Congress, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, M.L.A., President, All-India Muslim League, dated The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, 2nd November 1939.

You will remember that I agreed during our conversation yesterday to let you have in concrete form the proposition which I put to you and the other gentlemen who were present at the meeting, emphasising that I did so with a genuine desire to help, a desire fully shared by His Majesty's Government.

2. The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider, as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves with a view to discovering whether you could reach a basis of agreement between yourselves in the Provincial field, consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organisations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces. What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree of agreement in respect of the Provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors, and the organizations which they represented, to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre.

3. I added, in regard to any arrangement at the Centre,—

First, that one would hope that it might be found practicable to include also one or possibly more representatives of other important groups, and that that was a question on which I should value your advice when we came to grapple with the details :

Secondly, that the arrangement which I invited you to consider for the Centre would be an *ad hoc* arrangement for the period of the war, and quite distinct from the much wider question of constitutional reform at the end of the war ; and I mentioned that on that last point my declaration had set out the position of His Majesty's Government. I attach a copy of the extracts from that declaration which I brought to the notice of the meeting yesterday.

Thirdly, that the position of anyone appointed to my Executive Council as a member of a political party would be identical, in privileges and in obligations, with that of the existing members of my Council : and

Fourthly, that the arrangement would be within the general scheme of the existing law. It would be admittedly and inevitably a makeshift arrangement for the duration of the campaign. I brought out that what was required now, if we could get a workable scheme together, was to put it into operation with as little delay as possible

pending the more general review of the whole constitutional position which His Majesty's Government have expressed their readiness to undertake after the conclusion of hostilities.

4. I think the above makes the position clear. Let me in conclusion repeat that, as I said yesterday, I am at any time at your disposal or that of the other gentlemen who attended our meeting, whether jointly or singly, to give any assistance in my power in reaching conclusions on these most important matters. I feel certain, as I said yesterday, that the suggestions I have put to you, reflecting as they do very real and substantial evidence of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to reach a complete understanding, will receive full and sympathetic consideration from you.

[Enclosure.]

Extracts from the Viceroy's Declaration of 18th October 1939.

" His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate. And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests, in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable."

I added—

" I have I trust, in what I have just said, made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is, as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions. The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process. But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views. And I would make it clear, too, that it will be their object, as at all times in the past it has been, to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal."

I remarked finally, speaking of the demands of the minorities for an assurance that full weight would be given to their views and interests—

" It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh, or to modify in any respect any important part of India's future constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament."

II

Reply dated Birla House, New Delhi, November 3, 1939, from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Indian National Congress, to His Excellency's letter dated The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, November 2, 1939 :—

I thank you for your letter of November 2nd, embodying in concrete form the proposition which you had placed before us when we saw you on November 1st. My colleagues and I have given our earnest consideration to it. We have had also the advantage of full talks with Mr. M. A. Jinnah. But we find ourselves unable to vary the answer we gave you during the interview.

At the outset I would like to say that both Gandhiji and I missed at the interview any reference to the main and moral issue raised by the Congress about clarification of war aims without which it was impossible for the Congress to consider any subsidiary proposal.

The present crisis has arisen owing to the outbreak of the war in Europe and the action of the British Government in declaring India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people. This crisis is entirely political and is not related to the communal issue in India. It raises vital questions in regard to the war aims of the British Government and the position of India in relation to them. The Congress Working Committee, as you are aware, issued a lengthy statement on September 14th, 1939, in which they invited the British Government to declare these war aims and, in particular, how these aims were going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. It was further stated that the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly, without external interference, and should guide their own policy. On the 10th of October, 1939, the All-India Congress Committee approved of and endorsed this statement, and stated that in the declaration to be made by the British Government, India must be declared an independent nation and present application should be given to this status to the largest possible extent. The Committee further added that Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity and the full recognition and protection of the rights of all minorities.

Subsequent to this, the policy of the British Government was declared in the Viceregal statement, extracts from which you have been good enough to send me. This statement was considered by the Congress Working Committee soon after and the Committee expressed their opinion that it was unfortunate and wholly unsatisfactory. As a consequence of this, they felt compelled to declare that they were unable to give any support to Great Britain and to call upon the Provincial Governments, in provinces where the Congress is in a majority, to tender their resignations.

It is worthy of note that the Viceregal declaration of British policy met with disapproval of the overwhelming body of opinion in India, even outside the Congress.

Subsequent statements made on behalf of the British Government in Parliament have not made any essential difference to the policy

outlined in the Viceregal statement, and as you have rightly pointed out, that policy is still governed by the extracts from it that you have kindly sent us. I am afraid it is quite impossible for us to accept this policy or to consider any steps to further co-operation unless the policy of the British Government is made clear in a declaration on the lines suggested by the Congress.

It has pained us to find the communal question being dragged in in this connection. It has clouded the main issue. It has been repeatedly said on behalf of the Congress that it is our earnest desire to settle all points of communal controversy by agreement and we propose to continue our efforts to this end. But I would point out that this question does not in any respect come in the way of a declaration of Indian freedom as suggested above. Such a declaration applies to the whole of India and not to any particular community, and the Constituent Assembly which will frame India's constitution, will be formed on the widest possible basis of franchise and by agreement in regard to communal representation. We are all agreed that there must be full protection of minority rights and interests and this protection should be by agreement between the parties concerned. The British Government taking or sharing the burden has, in our opinion, made a settlement of the question much more difficult than it should have been. It should allay all real anxiety on the part of the British Government when the Congress declares that it contemplates no constitution which does not carry with it the protection of real minorities to their satisfaction.

It seems to us that a clear declaration of the kind suggested is an essential preliminary to any further consideration of the matter. I should like to add that recent developments in the European war have made it all the more necessary for a clear enunciation of war aims. If a satisfactory declaration is made a discussion of the proposal made by Your Excellency will be appropriate and useful and we shall gladly discuss it with you.

It is perhaps unnecessary to state that Gandhiji is in full agreement with this letter. We propose to leave tomorrow evening for Wardha unless Your Excellency desires otherwise.

III

Letter dated November 4, 1939, from Mr. M. A. Jinnah, M.L.A., President, All-India Muslim League, in reply to His Excellency the Viceroy's letter of November 2, 1939 :—

With reference to the joint interview which Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress, and myself had with you on the 1st of November and in reply to your letter, dated the 2nd of November, I beg to inform you that I understood that the Congress leaders and myself were to consider the proposals of Your Excellency, namely—to quote from Your Excellency's letter—" The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider, as



leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves in the Provincial field consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organizations immediately participating in the Central Government as Members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces. What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree of agreement in respect of the Provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors, and the organizations which they represented, to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre", without prejudice to the resolution of the Muslim League of the 22nd of October stating that the Declaration of Your Excellency on behalf of His Majesty's Government was not satisfactory and required further clarification and assurances and also without prejudice to the demand of the Congress for a Declaration as adumbrated in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on the 10th of October 1939.

In consequence I met the leaders of the Congress and I was informed by them finally that they had come to the conclusion that they could not discuss any questions with regard to matters referred to in your letter of the 2nd instant relating to the Provincial field or "at the Centre" until the British Government had complied with their demand as embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee; hence these two questions were not further discussed.

3. THE MUSLIM LEAGUE POSITION

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated New Delhi, November 5, 1939.

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,—I wish to thank you for giving me the interview on the 4th of November as you had promised in your letter of the 28th October, wherein you stated that you will be glad at some suitable moment to endeavour further to elucidate any points that there may be in doubt as desired by the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League of the 22nd of October.

In my interview with you on the 4th of November the subject was fully discussed and now, as desired by Your Excellency, I am herewith submitting to you the following points for your consideration and early reply:

(1) That so soon as circumstances may permit or immediately after the war the entire problem of India's future constitution, apart from the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be examined and reconsidered *de novo;*

(2) That no declaration shall, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enacted by His Majesty's Government

or Parliament without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, *viz.*, the Mussalmans and the Hindus ;

(3) That His Majesty's Government should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs in Palestine ;

(4) That the Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country.

I have already, in my interview, fully explained the reasons and the grounds in support of these points over and above what is indicated in the statement of the 18th of September and the resolution of the 22nd of October of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, copies of which have already been sent to Your Excellency.

There is one more point which was mentioned in the statement of the Working Committee of the 18th of September, *viz.*, the question of securing justice and fairplay to the Mussalmans in the Congress-governed provinces where even their elementary rights were being ruthlessly trampled upon ; but as the Congress Ministries have gone out of office I do not desire to say anything regarding this matter at present.

May I inform Your Excellency that I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning ?

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah, dated New Delhi, November 7, 1939.

DEAR MR. JINNAH,—Many thanks for your letter of the 5th November. I fully appreciate the importance of the points which you raise and I will not fail to let you have as early a reply as practicable.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW.

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated Bombay, November 18, 1939.

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,—Thank you for your letter of the 7th November 1939. Since the receipt of your letter I have been pressed with inquiries from different parts of the country as to how and where we stand. Would you, therefore, mind if I were to publish my letter to Your Excellency, dated the 5th November and your letter under reply ?

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah, dated Viceroy's Camp, November 26/27, 1939.

DEAR MR. JINNAH,—Thank you for your letter of the 18th November. I quite understand your anxiety to publish your letter to me of the 5th November and my acknowledgment of it. I should welcome it if you could postpone publication for, say, another ten days, as I am anxious that the interval between publication by you and my reply (which naturally must take some little time to prepare as I have to consult His Majesty's Government) should be as short as possible. But if you feel that it is essential for you to publish without waiting so long, I can raise no objection, though I would ask you to be kind enough to let me know in advance the date you contemplate.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

Telegram from Mr. Jinnah, Bombay, to Lord Linlithgow, New Delhi, dated November 29, 1939.

Hope my letter of 18th has reached Your Excellency. Am waiting for reply as soon as possible.

Telegram from Viceroy, dated November 29, 1939, to Mr. Jinnah, Bombay.

Many thanks for your telegram of today. I hope you will by now have received my letter of the 27th November posted from Bahawalpur —VICEROY.

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah, dated Calcutta, December 23, 1939.

Dear MR. JINNAH,—I am now in a position to reply to your letter of November 5, in which you submitted certain points for my consideration. You will, I am sure, appreciate that more than one of your questions, if considered in the light of all the implications involved in it, would raise issues affecting other communities in India, and that this correspondence between us would not be an appropriate medium for making pronouncements on them. But I hope that my answers, limited though their scope may be by this consideration, will none the less serve to remove your difficulties.

2. My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October 18 last does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

3. With reference to your second point, I can assure you that His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional developments in India. You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives their views will be underrated.

4. In framing their policy for Palestine, His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands, and they continue to be fully alive to the importance of that issue.

5. Finally, you asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country. This question is fortunately hypothetical, since His Majesty is not at war with any Muslim power. You will appreciate, however, that it is impossible to give a guarantee in terms so wide as those of your letter, which would have the effect of limiting India's right to use its own army in its own defence in circumstances which cannot now be foreseen ; in the present situation, however, as you are aware, every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

League Committee's Resolution of Feb. 3, 1940

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated New Delhi, February 6, 1940.

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,—I am herewith sending a copy of the Working Committee's resolution passed on the 3rd of February 1940 regarding the correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH.

The following is the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League dated February 3rd :—

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr. Jinnah, the President, and His Excellency the Viceroy, ending with his final reply dated 23rd December, 1939. The Committee is of the opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory as certain important points still require further clarification and elucidation. The Committee, therefore, empowers the President to place the views of the Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances asked for in the resolutions of the Working Committee dated 18th September and 22nd October, 1939, and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India.

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H.E. the Viceroy dated February 23, 1940.

The Working Committee appreciate the clarification made by Your Excellency regarding the first point and are glad to note that the declaration made by Your Excellency with the approval

of His Majesty's Government, on October 18, 1939, does not exclude the examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

As regards the second point the Working Committee do not feel satisfied as the request made for a definite assurance has not been met, *viz.*, that no declaration should, either in principle or, otherwise, be made or any constitution be enforced by His Majesty's Government or enacted by Parliament without the approval and consent of the Mussalmans of India. We recognise Your Excellency's assurance when you state that 'His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional development in India. You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily give their views will be underrated.' But, I regret to say, this does not meet the point raised by the Muslim League, because it still leaves the position of the ninety million Mussalmans of India only in the region of consultation and counsel, and vests the final decision in the hands of Great Britain, to determine the fate and future of Muslim India. We regret that we cannot accept this position.

As to the policy for Palestine, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League wish to impress upon His Majesty's Government that a solution should be found to the satisfaction of the Arabs. The Committee are glad to note, as Your Excellency states, that His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands and they continue to be fully alive to that issue. But the eyes of the Muslim world are watching the situation keenly and a definite solution should be found without delay.

With regard to the use of Indian troops against any Muslim Power or country, the Committee feel that Your Excellency has misunderstood the position. When we asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim Power or country, it was not intended that they shall not be used for the defence of the country in case of an attack on or aggression against India. While we thank Your Excellency for informing us that every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government, at the instance of the Government of India, to insure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected, we feel that further clarification of the position is necessary.

It is required of the Muslim League to give assurance of the whole-hearted co-operation and active support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war. The Committee are of opinion that before doing that they must feel confident that the future of the Mussalmans of India is not left in the region of uncertainty or doubtful possibility. Consequently, we do not consider it unreasonable on our part to ask for a definite assurance that no commitments will be made with regard

to the future constitution of India or any interim settlement with any other party, without our approval and consent. If His Majesty's Government are prepared to treat with the leadership of the Mussalmans as a responsible body, then they must be trusted, especially where the question of determining their own future is concerned.

We are constrained to state that Your Excellency is unnecessarily over-anxious about the interests of other communities. It has never been our desire unjustly to harm any community. The issues that have been raised by us are due to apprehensions that the British Government may be stampeded by other powerful organisations in the country into adopting a course or agreeing to a settlement in the matter of India's constitution which may prove not only highly detrimental to the interests of the Mussalmans but may be disastrous for them.

As regards Palestine and the use of Indian troops, our demands as explained by me above cannot in any way prejudice the interests of any other community. It is not possible in a letter of this kind to state fully the various reasons and details but if Your Excellency so desires, I shall be very glad to place the views of the Committee before you in fuller detail at an early date.

THE VICEROY'S REPLY.

Mr. Jinnah was granted an interview by the Viceroy on March 13 *and on April* 19. *His Excellency wrote with reference to Mr. Jinnah's letter of February* 23, 1940 :

I do not read your letter as indicating that the Working Committee of the League expects anything further from me in regard to the first and the third of your points—the scope of the re-examination of the constitutional position to follow the war, and policy in Palestine.

You ask, however, for further clarification of the position in regard to the use of Indian troops against Muslim Powers or countries, while explaining, as I note and appreciate, that you had no intention of attempting to circumscribe their use in defending India against attack or aggression. I presume that you do not expect a guarantee, which it would obviously be impossible to give, binding us in future contingencies which no one can foresee. But you need have no fear that if at any time such a contingency arose the consideration underlying your suggestion would be overlooked. Fortunately, however, so far as the present situation is concerned, His Majesty's Government are in friendly and sympathetic relations with all Muslim Powers, to some of whom, indeed, they are bound by alliance, while with the rest they are on terms of most cordial friendship.

You represent that your second point was not felt by the Working Committee to be adequately met by the terms of my letter. You have no doubt noticed the passage in the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Lords on April 18 in which he used these words :

'But that does not mean that the future constitution of India is to be a constitution dictated by the Government and Parliament of this country against the wishes of the Indian people. The undertaking

given by His Majesty's Government to examine the constitutional field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India connotes not dictation but negotiation. Admittedly, a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities in India is essential if the vision of a united India which has inspired the labours of so many Indians and Englishmen is to become a reality, for I cannot believe that any Government or Parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, 80 million Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India a form of constitution under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly.'

This statement, I am sure you will agree, has removed any possible doubts on this point.

League Committee's Resolution of June 16, 1940.

The next development was a letter from Mr. Jinnah enclosing a copy of the Working Committee's resolution of June 16, 1940. This resolution read as follows:

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, while being of the opinion that the further clarification contained in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated April 19, 1940, with regard to the assurances asked for by the All-India Muslim League is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, on May 27: "Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war.

The provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government pending their consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked for and, in particular, that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.

Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law.

But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.

A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February, which met the same fate. Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership—there are

many ways of doing so—and, as confident friends, seek our whole-hearted co-operation. And we shall not fail."

The Working Committee looks with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee therefore authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an all-India basis—and not province-wise—between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved. The Working Committee is of the opinion that in view of the immediate grave danger that is facing the country the real purpose will not be served by the Mussalmans and others merely joining the proposed provincial and district war committees with their present scope and functions.

The Viceroy suggested a meeting with Mr. Jinnah on June 27.

On July 1 Mr. Jinnah sent to Mr. J. G. Laithwaite, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, " a rough note of the points I discussed with him on June 27 in the course of an interview." This was as follows :—

That no pronouncement or statement should be made by His Majesty's Government which would, in any way, militate against the basis and fundamental principles laid down by the Lahore resolution for division of India and creating Muslim States in the north-west and eastern zones : and it may be stated that that ideal now has become the universal faith of Muslim India.

That His Majesty's Government must give definite and categorical assurance to the Mussalmans of India that no interim or final scheme of constitution would be adopted by the British Government without the previous approval and consent of Muslim India.

In view of the rapid developments in Europe and the grave danger that is facing India, it is fully realised that everything should be done that is possible to intensify war efforts and mobilise all the resources of India for her defence for the purpose of maintaining internal security, peace and tranquillity, and to ward off external aggression. But this can only be achieved provided the British Government are ready and willing to associate the Muslim leadership as equal partners in the Government both at the Centre and in all the provinces. In other words, Muslim India leadership must be fully trusted as equals, and have an equal share in the authority and control of the Governments, Central and provincial.

Provisionally, and during the period of the war, the following steps should be taken to comply with the formula, namely, co-operation with the Government with an equal share in the authority of the Government :

(A) That the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged, within the framework of the present constitution and existing law, the additional number to be settled by further discussions : but it being understood that the Muslim representation must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority of the additional members as it is obvious that the main burden and the responsibility will be borne by the Mussalmans in that case.

(B) In the provinces where Section 93 has to operate non-official advisers should be appointed, the number to be fixed after further discussion, and the majority of the non-official advisers should be the representatives of Mussalmans: and, where the provinces can be run by a combination of parties or a coalition, naturally it would be for the parties concerned to adjust matters by agreement among themselves.

(C) There should be a war council consisting of no less than fifteen members, including the president, to be presided over by His Excellency the Viceroy. I don't like the expression 'war consultative committee'. This council should regularly meet to deal with, and review, the general situation as it may develop from time to time, and advice the Government with regard to matters in connection with the prosecution of the war generally, and in particular, the fullest development of the defence possible, and finance, and to make a thorough economic and industrial drive. In this body it will not be difficult to secure the representation and full co-operation of the Indian Princes and, as far as I can judge, they would have no difficulty in joining it. It is through this body that the association of the Princes can be secured. Here again, the representation of Muslim India must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority.

Finally, the representatives of the Mussalmans on the proposed war council and the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the additional non-official advisers of the Governors should be chosen by the Muslim League.

In a letter dated July 6, 1940 the Viceroy said that in the above letter, " certain of the points taken suggest that there may be some slight misapprehension, which you will, I think, agree that it would be desirable that I should clear without delay.

As regards my expansion of the Executive Council this would, as you rightly observe in your memorandum, be within the existing constitutional scheme. In other words, any Council so expanded would co-operate as a whole and as a single Government of India. It is not a case of striking a balance between the different interests or of preserving the proportions between the important parties. As you yourself indicated in the course of our conversation, there are parties other than either Congress or the Muslim League who may fairly claim to be considered for inclusion, and there is a very definite limit of numbers to any possible expansion. At the same time, I readily accept the importance, in the event of any expansion, of securing adequate representation of Muslim interests, and that is a point which I would bear in mind.

There is however, as you will see from my explanation, no question of responsibility falling in greater or less degree on any particular section. Responsibility will be that of the Governor-General-in-Council as a whole. Again it will be clear that under the existing law and practice it must remain with the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Governor-General, to decide upon such names as we may submit to His Majesty the King for inclusion in the Governor-General's Executive Council, and such persons cannot be the nominees of political parties, however important : though it may of course be assumed that both the Secretary of State and the Governor-General would, in all cases, do their utmost to select persons from the various sections of the community.

I need not remind you that under law the whole responsibility for the Government in Section 93 provinces vests exclusively in the Governor, although a Governor can, of course, take advantage of the assistance of any advisers he may appoint. Whether and if so at what point and in what strength non-official advisers from political parties should be appointed in provinces under Section 93 administration, in the event of an expansion of the Governor-General's Council, would clearly call for consideration in the light of the circumstances of each province. You will, I think agree with me also that the importance of the community from which advisers are drawn in a particular province has a direct bearing.

Your idea for a war council is, in my view, well worth while considering though details would have to be worked out. Here again there are, of course, many parties to be considered other than the Muslim League or Congress.

As regards section III of your memorandum, I ought, I think, to make it clear that it would be constitutionally impossible for the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to any expanded Executive Council or as non-official advisers to rest with the Muslim League.

But in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestions you may put forward would not receive full consideration.

Let me in conclusion thank you again for your very clear and valuable memorandum. I realise, of course, fully that it is not merely private and personal but that, in your own words, it embodies a tentative proposal. I am sure that you will agree with me that it is well that there should be no misunderstanding on the important points on which I have touched above."

Mr. Jinnah replied :

As regards the constitutional and legal position that you have been good enough to point out to me in connection with the expansion of the Executive Council, and also with regard to the appointment of Advisers to the Governor, and the position of the Governor working under Section 93 administration, I fully appreciate it. I am glad that the idea of constituting a war council, in your opinion, is well worth while considering. No doubt the details would have to be worked out. But I do not think there is anything in my memorandum which cannot be given effect to by way of convention and, if the Secretary of State and yourself meet us in the spirit of trust and co-operation, the legal and constitutional formalities can be met and complied with. What is required is the spirit of complete understanding.

I am, however, grateful to you for your assurance in paragraph five of your letter, with regard to the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to the Executive Council or as non-official advisers, which runs as follows : 'But in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestion you may put forward would not receive full consideration.' On my part I hope that I shall meet you in every reasonable way possible.

In conclusion, I should like to impress upon you that the Congress propaganda is going on vigorously with its work whereas I have not yet given any idea of negotiations or the talk I had with you to the public. I wonder whether you will agree that I should place before the public at least my memorandum which I had sent you.

The Viceroy on July 24, 1940, wrote :

I should, of course, see no objection whatever to your informing your Committee confidentially of what passed between us at our conversation (I may, incidentally, remark that I asked Mr. Gandhi, after my talk with him, to regard our conversation as confidential, but told him that I had no objection to his informing the Congress Working Committee in confidence of what had passed during it—a course which he has, I gather, adopted). I cannot help feeling, though that must be a point for your consideration in the first instance, that to give publicity to our private and personal memorandum of your 'tentative proposal' might give rise to some misunderstanding as to the position in relation to the considerations mentioned in my letter to you of July 6. But I am naturally anxious to give you any assistance I can : though I venture to think that the suggestion I have made might prove the most convenient method of dealing with the position.

Mr. Jinnah then assured His Excellency that the League Working Committee had " a fairly good idea " of the points discussed but pressed for permission to inform the general Muslim public through the Press.

Viceroy's Statement of August 8, 1940.

The Viceroy communicated to Mr. Jinnah the text of his statement made on August 8 and observed :

As you will see His Majesty's Government have authorised me to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council, and they have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. I trust sincerely that you and the organisation of which you are the President will be prepared to join with me in the Central Government and in the War Advisory Council ; and I would greatly appreciate it if you are able to let me have a reply by August 21 at the latest. I would hope to have an opportunity of conversation with you in Bombay on August 13 and I suggest that this would be a convenient opportunity to clear the ground for your formal reply. I would only add that I am anxious that the names of the expanded Executive Council should appear not later than the end of August and those of the War Advisory Council by the middle of September at the latest, and if possible earlier than that date.

On August 14, His Excellency wrote :

I think it may be convenient for you to have in writing the information on the points below which I gave you in our conversation today. I informed you in that conversation : first that my statement clearly safeguarded the Muslim position in relation to future constitutional development ; secondly, that it equally provided a basis on which the Muslims could, if they so desired, co-operate at the Centre. As I explained to you in our earlier conversation I cannot yet take up the issue of the provinces : but I do not contemplate non-official advisers, at any rate at this stage.

You asked me the probable strength of the expanded Executive Council. I cannot, for reasons which you will appreciate, yet indicate a precise figure but the total strength of the Council will be likely to be in the neighbourhood of 11. If, as I trust, the Muslim League are prepared to accept my invitation, I would like you to let me have a panel of names, say, four, with a view to my selecting two from it for appointment to my Council. As I have already made clear to you, Sir Zafrulla Khan, if he remains in my Council, will not count against this figure. It is clearly impossible, until the discussions on which I am at present engaged are complete, to indicate precisely what would be the parties represented in the expanded Council.

The strength and composition of the War Advisory Council can clearly only be fixed after the expansion of the Executive Council is complete. Here, too, I should be grateful if you would be good enough to let me have a panel of names for my consideration on the assumption

that there would probably be, say, five Muslim League representatives out of a total of something in the neighbourhood of 20.

As you will appreciate, I am very anxious to take very early decisions in these matters and to reach finality as regards the personnel of the expanded Executive Council and of the Advisory Council at as early a date as possible, and I hope that you will be able to assist me by letting me have a very early reply.

There is, of course, no objection whatever to your communicating the information above to your colleagues confidentially: but I should be grateful if any publicity could be avoided for the present.

Mr. Jinnah acknowledged receipt of this letter and in a further communication dated September 5 enclosed a copy of the Working Committee's resolution of September 2.

In reply, the Viceroy said he was content that the selection of representatives to the Executive Council, while resting with the Governor-General, should be based in the case of the Muslim League (and of other parties) not on a panel but on confidential discussion between the party leader and himself. His Excellency further indicated the impracticability of a final decision as to the total strength of the expanded Council or as to the allocation of portfolios (" a matter which must of course rest entirely with the Governor-General ") until the replies of all those who might be invited to serve had been received.

The letter continued:

The general position of His Majesty's Government had been made clear in my statement of August 8 and in the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Commons on August 15. It is that His Majesty's Government regard the expansion of my Council and the constitution of a War Advisory Council as steps of the first importance in terms of the association of Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government and of the constitutional machinery of the Government of India pending the post-war investigations, the machinery for which has been indicated in my statement and in Mr. Amery's speech. His Majesty's Government sincerely trust that the Muslim League, like the other parties and interests which they have invited to join the expanded Council and to participate in the War Advisory Council will respond to that invitation. Their collaboration in both those bodies will, of course, be entirely without prejudice to the consideration and decision after the conclusion of the war and, on the basis already indicated in my statement, of the main constitutional issue. But His Majesty's Government trust and anticipate that they and the other parties who are represented in the expanded Council and the War Advisory Council will welcome the opportunity offered to them of influencing the cause of public affairs in the immensely important period which lies ahead, and, in so doing, will, in the working throughout the period of the war of those bodies, find a basis for that general co-operation, with full regard to the interests of all concerned, on which the post-war constitution foreshadowed in my statement and in the Secretary of State's speech can be built.

In his next letter Mr. Jinnah said he would again consult his Committee and made it clear that he proposed to publish the correspondence.

On September 25, His Excellency wrote :

You asked me yesterday to let you have a formal reply before you left for Delhi, to the resolutions which you were kind enough to send me earlier this month and I accordingly send you a formal letter herewith. I have given the most careful consideration since we parted last night as to whether I could devise any form of words such as you mentioned to me which would meet the purpose which you had in view. I warned you, as you will remember, that I anticipated the greatest difficulty in doing so, and I am bound to confess with regret that I have in fact after the most careful thought found it impracticable. But, knowing your mind as I do, I have endeavoured in the last paragraph of my formal letter sent herewith to do what I could to make the general position clear, and I hope that that may be of assistance to you. I trust that in the light of our talks you will now be able to let me have a definite decision once your meeting at Delhi is over, and I trust that that decision may be a favourable one ; for matters have now reached a stage at which it is essential that a definite conclusion should be reached.

The closing letter of the correspondence is from Mr. Jinnah, and it reads :

I thank you for your letter of September 25 and I extremely regret that you are unable to meet me on the point which I raised during the course of our conversation on the 24th, though in the course of the discussions you appreciated and recognised that it was a vital point so far as the Muslim League was concerned—namely, that in the event of any other party deciding later on to be associated with our Executive Council to assist in the prosecution of the war it should be allowed to do so on terms that may be approved of and consented to by the Muslim League Party, as we were entering into so to say, a 'war contract.'

I thank you for your endeavour in the last paragraph of your formal letter to do what you could to make the general position clear, but I am afraid it does not meet the point raised by me and I cannot derive much assistance from it.

4. ANOTHER APPROACH TO THE POLITICAL PROBLEM

After his meeting with party leaders on November 1, 1939, Lord Linlithgow made another approach to the political problem early in the month of February 1940, when at his invitation, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah saw His Excellency on Feb. 5 and 6 respectively. Lord Linlithgow indicated that, subject to the consent of the parties affected, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to reopen the Federal scheme so as to expedite the achievement of Dominion Status and added that his offer of the previous November of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council, remained open. A two hours' discussion on the political situation took place with Mr. Gandhi and in the evening the communique below, the text of which had been agreed upon between Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Gandhi, was issued.

I

"In response to an invitation from His Excellency, Mr. Gandhi today came to see the Viceroy.

A prolonged and very friendly discussion took place in which the whole position was exhaustively examined.

Mr. Gandhi made it clear at the outset of the conversation that he had no mandate from the Congress Working Committee, that he was not empowered to commit it in any way, and that he could speak on behalf of himself only.

His Excellency set out in some detail the intentions and the proposals of His Majesty's Government.

He emphasised in the first place their earnest desire that India should attain Dominion Status at the earliest possible moment, and to facilitate the achievement of that status by all means in their power. He drew attention to the complexity and difficulty of certain of the issues that called for disposal in that connection, in particular the issue of Defence in a Dominion position. He made it clear that His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India when the time came.

He made clear also the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to shorten the transitional period and to bridge it as effectively as possible. His Excellency drew attention to the fact that, as he recently repeated at Baroda, the federal scheme of the Act, while at present in suspense, afforded the swiftest stepping stone to Dominion Status, and that its adoption, with the consent of all concerned, would facilitate the solution of many of the problems that had to be faced in that connection.

He added that the offer put forward by him in November last of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the lines and on the basis then indicated remained open and that His Majesty's Government were prepared to give immediate effect to that offer.

.Subject to the consent of the parties affected His Majesty's Government would be prepared also to reopen the Federal scheme so as to expedite the achievement of Dominion Status and to facilitate the settlement after the war of the issues to which it gave rise.

Mr. Gandhi expressed appreciation of the spirit in which these proposals were put forward, but made it clear that they did not, in his view, at this stage meet the full demand of the Congress Party. He suggested, and the Viceroy agreed, that in the circumstances it would be preferable to defer for the present further discussions with the object of a solution of the difficulties which had arisen."

II

The following official communique was issued on February 6:

" In response to an invitation from His Excellency, Mr. Jinnah today came to see the Viceroy. The conversation which lasted for over an hour, ranged over the whole position.

Mr. Jinnah urged on His Excellency the great importance attached by the Moslem and other minorities to the safeguarding of their position in any settlement or discussions that might take place. His Excellency assured Mr. Jinnah that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the necessity for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the minorities, and that he need be under no apprehension that the importance of those interests would be lost sight of."

5. FREE SPEECH AND WAR EFFORT

In a Resolution on June 21, 1940, the Working Committee of the Congress Party expressed themselves " deeply moved by the tragic events that have taken place in Europe in startling succession, in particular by the misfortunes that have befallen the people of France ". They declared: " The problem of the achievement of national freedom has now to be considered along with the allied one of its maintenance and the defence of the country against possible external aggression and internal disorder ". Until the people had imbibed sufficiently the lesson of organized non-violence, the Committee found that they were unable to go full length with Mr. Gandhi in his creed of non-violence in all circumstances.

In a resolution on July 7, 1940, the Working Committee noted "the serious happenings which have called forth fresh appeals to bring about a solution of the deadlock in the Indian political situation" and expressed themselves " more than ever convinced that the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the complete independence of India, is the only solution of the problems facing both India and Britain " ; and, as an immediate step in giving effect to the status, demanded that a provisional national government be constituted at the centre such as would command the confidence of all elected elements of the Central legislature and secure the closest co-operation of the responsible Governments in Provinces. If these measures were adopted, the Committee declared, " it will enable the Congress to throw its full

weight in the efforts for the effective organization of the defence of the country ".

Subsequently, the Working Committee noted Lord Linlithgow's statement of August 8, 1940 and declared in a resolution on August 18 that the British Government had rejected the Party's "friendly offer". By a resolution adopted on September 16, 1940, the All-India Congress Committee restored Mr. Gandhi to leadership of the organization and requested him "to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken".

Thereafter Mr. Gandhi had two conversations with Lord Linlithgow. The correspondence below contains the substance of these conversations and their outcome.

(The failure of these conversations was followed by Mr. Gandhi's campaign of individual Civil Disobedience on the issue of freedom of speech, "the right to preach against war as war or participation in the present war." The campaign started on October 17, 1940, with an anti-war speech by a select disciple of Mr. Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, who was allowed to carry on his anti-war propaganda for four days and was arrested on October 21, 1940.)

The Viceroy, in a letter dated September 30, 1940, *wrote :*

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I think it will be convenient if I record very briefly in writing the origin of the talks we have had on the 27th and 30th September and their outcome.

As you will remember, you wrote to me on the 18th September to ask that I should grant you an interview, and you explained in your letter that you were anxious to discuss the situation covered by the recent resolution of the All-India Congress Committee not only in your capacity as guide of the Congress but as a personal friend. I was, I need not say, most ready to talk things over with you, and we have now had the advantage of two conversations.

In the course of these conversations the situation has been exhaustively discussed, with particular reference to the question of free speech in time of war. On that matter, while professing yourself most anxious to avoid in any way embarrassing His Majesty's Government in the prosecution of the war, you made it clear to me that you regarded it as essential that the Indian National Congress and other members of the public should be in a position to give full expression to their views in relation to war effort provided only that such expression was fully non-violent.

I indicated to you the nature of the special treatment laid down by law in the United Kingdom for dealing with conscientious objectors —which I may broadly describe as an arrangement under which, while the conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of endeavouring to persuade others whether soldiers or munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort.

You made it clear to me that you would not regard treatment of that nature as adequate in the conditions of India, and that you regarded it as essential that in India, where in your judgment conditions were wholly different from those existing in Great Britain, the Indian objector, either to all war as such, or to the participation of India in the present war, should be untrammelled in the expression of his views. It emerged further from our conversation that while you would not yourself preach to workers engaged on war work at the actual works, in the endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment, you would regard it as essential that it should be open to Congressmen and non-Congressmen alike to deliver addresses and otherwise to call upon people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war-effort in any way which would involve India's participation in bloodshed.

I listened with the utmost care and attention to your argument, and our examination of the situation has been full and close. I felt bound, however, in the outcome to make it clear to you that action such as you suggest would certainly amount not only to the inhibition of India's war-effort, but to that embarrassment of Great Britain in the prosecution of the war which the Congress state that they are anxious to avoid: and that it would clearly not be possible in the interests of India herself, more particularly at this most critical juncture in the war, to acquiesce in the interference with war-effort which would be involved in freedom of speech so wide as that for which you had asked.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) LINLITHGOW.

Mr. Gandhi's Reply

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I have your letter of even date.

It fairly sets forth the Congress position as I placed it before you. It is a matter of deep regret to me that the Government have not been able to appreciate the Congress position, meant just to satisfy the bare requirements of the people, whether Congressmen or others who felt a conscientious objection to helping a war to which they were never invited and which they regard, so far as they are concerned, as one for saving imperialism of which India is the greatest victim. Their objection is just as conscientious as mine as a war resister. I cannot claim greater freedom for my conscience than for that of those I have named.

As I made it plain in the course of our talks, the Congress is as much opposed to victory for Nazism as any Britisher can be. But their objection cannot be carried to the extent of their participation in the war.

And since you and the Secretary of State for India have declared that the whole of India is voluntarily helping the war-effort it becomes necessary to make clear that the vast majority of the people of India are not interested in it. They make no distinction between Nazism and the double autocracy that rules India.

Had His Majesty's Government recognised the freedom required in the special condition of India, they would have justified the claim that they were receiving from India only such effort as they could voluntarily. The war party and the non-war party would have been placed on an equal footing so far as each worked fully non-violently.

As to the last paragraph of your letter, I wish to remind you that it was never contemplated to carry non-embarrassment to the point of self-extinction or, in other words, stopping all national activities—which were designed to make India peace-minded and show that India's participation could not benefit anyone, not excluding Great Britain. Indeed, I hold that if India were left free to make her choice which freedom of speech implied, India would probably have turned the scales in favour of Britain and true liberty by the moral prestige which Britain would have then gained.

I must, therefore, repeat that the Congress does still want to refrain from embarrassing the British Government in their war-effort. But it is impossible for the Congress to make of the policy a fetish by denying its creed at this critical period in the history of mankind. If the Congress has to die, it should do so in the act of proclaiming its faith. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to arrive at an agreement on the single issue of freedom of speech. But I shall hug the hope that it will be possible for the Government to work out their policy in the spirit of the Congress position.

I should like to touch upon the other points I raised in our talks. But for fear of burdening this reply, I refrain. I shall hope to make a public statement on them as early as I can.

In conclusion, let me thank you publicly for the great courtesy and patience with which you listened to my very long statement and argument.

And though our ways seem to diverge for the moment, our personal friendship will, as you have kindly said at the time of saying farewell, bear the strain of divergence.

As arranged, I am handing our correspondence to the Press for publication.

I am, yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

6. THE DISTURBANCES OF 1942

The two years between September 30, 1940, *the date of the previous correspondence and August* 14, 1942, *the date of the earliest letter in the correspondence below, were packed with events. Mr. Gandhi's individual civil disobedience movement started on Oct.* 17, 1940 *and continued during the greater part of the year* 1941. *On July* 22, 1941, *the Governor-General's Executive Council was enlarged, giving Indian members a majority of two to one, and a National Defence Council was established. On December* 3, 1941, *the Government of India in response to appeals and "confident in the determination of all responsible men in India to support the war-effort until victory is secured," ordered the release of civil disobedience prisoners whose offences had been formal or symbolic in character. On December* 30, 1941, *the Congress Working Committee noted that the world had fallen "ever deeper into the abyss of war" and the war had approached the frontiers of India, and expressed the opinion that "only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war." In March of the following year,* 1942, *the War Cabinet's draft declaration was brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps. Failure of his talks with Indian party leaders was followed by Mr. Gandhi's "Quit India" campaign. Meanwhile, on July* 3, 1942, *was announced a further enlargement of the Executive Council so that it now consisted of twelve non-officials including eleven Indians out of total fifteen Members. On August* 8, 1942, *the All-India Congress Committee in a resolution declared that "the immediate ending of the British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and the success of the cause of the United Nations" and that "no future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet the peril," sanctioned "the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale" and requested Mr. Gandhi "to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken." The following day, August* 9, *Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were arrested in Bombay and simultaneously a round-up of prominent Congressmen throughout the country took place.*

From jail Mr. Gandhi exchanged correspondence with Lord Linlithgow. As indicated in the correspondence, Mr. Gandhi went on a fast to capacity on February 10, 1943.

(1)

Mr. Gandhi's Letter to Viceroy

[PERSONAL]

Dear Lord Linlithgow, *New Year's Eve*, 1942.

This is a very personal letter. Contrary to the biblical injunction, I have allowed many suns to set on a quarrel I have harboured against you, but I must not allow the old year to expire without disburdening myself of what is rankling in my breast against you. I had thought we were friends and should still love to think so. However, what has happened since the 9th of August last makes me wonder whether you still regard me as a friend. I have perhaps not come in such close touch with any other occupant of your *gadi* as with you.

Your arrest of me, the *communique* you issued thereafter, your reply to Rajaji and the reasons given therefor, Mr. Amery's attack on me and much else I can catalogue to show that at some stage or other you must have suspected my *bona fides*. Mention of other Congressmen in the same connexion is by the way. I seem to be the *fons et origo* of all the evil imputed to the Congress. If I have not ceased to be your friend why did you not before taking drastic action, send for me, tell me of your suspicions and make yourself sure of your facts? I am quite capable of seeing myself as others see me but in this case I have failed hopelessly. I find that all the statements made about me in Government quarters in this connexion contain palpable departures from truth. I have so much fallen from grace that I could not establish contact with a dying friend. I mean Prof. Bhansali who is fasting in regard to the Chimur affair, and I am expected to condemn the so-called violence of some people reputed to be Congressmen, although I have no data for such condemnation save the heavily censored reports of newspapers. I must own that I thoroughly distrust these reports. I could write much more but I must not lengthen my tale of woe. I am sure that what I have said is enough to enable you to fill in details.

You know I returned to India from S. Africa at the end of 1914 with a mission which came to me in 1906, namely, to spread truth and non-violence among mankind in the place of violence and falsehood in all walks of life. The law of *satyagraha* knows no defeat. Prison is one of the many ways of spreading the message, but it has its limits. You have placed me in a palace where every reasonable creature comfort is ensured. I have freely partaken of the latter purely as a matter of duty, never as a pleasure, in the hope that some day those that have the power will realise that they have wronged innocent men. I have given myself 6 months. The period is drawing to a close, so is my patience. The law of *satyagraha*, as I know it, prescribes a remedy in such moments of trial. In a sentence it is "crucify the flesh by fasting." That same law forbids its use except as a last resort. I do not want to use it if I can avoid it. This is the way to avoid it. Convince me of my error or errors and I shall make ample amends. You can send for me or send someone who knows your mind and can carry conviction. There are many other ways if you have the will. May I expect an early reply? May the New Year bring peace to us all.

I am, your sincere friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

(2)

The Viceroy's Reply

[PERSONAL]

January 13, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your personal letter of December 31, which I have just received. I fully accept its personal character and I welcome its frankness. And my reply will be as you would wish it to be, as frank and as entirely personal as your letter itself.

I was glad to have your letter, for, to be as open with you as our previous relations justify, I have been profoundly depressed during recent months, first by the policy that was adopted by the Congress in August, secondly, because while that policy gave rise as it was obvious it must, throughout the country to violence and crime (I say nothing of the risks to India from outside aggression) no word of condemnation for that violence and crime should have come from you or from the Working Committee. When you were first at Poona I knew that you were not receiving newspapers, and I accepted that as explaining your silence. When arrangements were made that you and the Working Committee should have such newspapers as you desired I felt certain that the details those newspapers contained of what was happening would shock and distress you as much as it has us all, and that you would be anxious to make your condemnation of it categorical and widely known.

But that was not the case : and it has been a real disappointment to me, all the more when I think of these murders, the burning alive of police officials, the wrecking of trains, the destruction of property, the misleading of these young students which has done so much harm to India's good name, and to the Congress Party. You may take it from me that the newspaper accounts you mention are well-founded— I only wish they were not for the story is a bad one. I well know the immense weight of your great authority in the Congress movement and with the party and those who follow its lead and I wish I could feel, again speaking very frankly, that a heavy responsibility did not rest on you. (And unhappily, while the initial responsibility rests with the leaders, others have to bear the consequences, whether as law-breakers, with the results that that involves, or as the victims).

But if I am right in reading your letter to mean that in the light of what has happened you wish to retrace your steps and dissociate yourself from the policy of last summer you have only to let me know and I will at once consider the matter further, and if I have failed to understand your object you must not hesitate to let me know without delay in what respect I have done so and tell me what positive suggestion you wish to put to me. You know me well enough after these many years to believe that I shall be only too concerned to read with the same close attention as ever any message which I receive from you, to give it the fullest weight, and to approach it with the deepest anxiety to understand your feeling and your motives.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW.

(3)*

Mr. Gandhi's Second Letter

[PERSONAL]

January 19, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I received your kind letter of the 13th instant yesterday at 2-30 p.m. I had almost despaired of ever hearing from you. Please excuse my impatience.

Your letter gladdens me to find that I have not lost caste with you.

My letter of 31st December was a growl against you. Yours is a counter-growl. It means that you maintain that you were right in arresting me and you were sorry for the omissions of which, in your opinion, I was guilty.

The inference you draw from my letter is, I am afraid, not correct. I have re-read your letter in the light of your interpretation but I have failed to find your meaning in it. I wanted to fast and should still want to, if nothing comes out of our correspondence and I have to be a helpless witness to what is going on in the country, including the privations of the millions owing to the universal scarcity stalking the land.

If I do not accept your interpretation of my letter, you want me to make a positive suggestion. This, I might be able to do, only if you put me among the members of the Working Committee of the Congress.

If I could be convinced of my error or worse of which you are evidently aware I should need to consult nobody so far as my own action is concerned, to make a full and open confession and make ample amends. But I have not any conviction of error. I wonder if you saw my letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, of 23rd September, 1942. I adhere to what I have said in it and in my letter to you of 14th August, 1942.

Of course, I deplore the happenings which have taken place since 9th August last. But have I not laid the whole blame for them at the door of the Government of India? Moreover, I could not express any opinion on events which I cannot influence or control and of which I have but a one-sided account. You are bound *prima facie* to accept the accuracy of reports that may be placed before you by your departmental heads. But you will not expect me to do so. Such reports have before now often proved fallible. It was for that reason that in my letter of 31st December I pleaded with you to convince me of the correctness of the information on which your conviction was based. You will, perhaps, appreciate my fundamental difficulty in making the statement you have expected me to make.

This, however, I can say from the housetop—that I am as confirmed a believer in non-violence as I have ever been. You may not know that any violence on the part of Congress workers I have condemned openly and unequivocally. I have even done public penance

more than once. I must not worry you with examples. The point I wish to make is that on every such occasion I was a free man.

This time, the retracing as I have submitted lies with the Government. You will forgive me for expressing an opinion challenging yours. I am certain that nothing but good would have resulted if you had stayed your hand and granted me the interview which I had announced on the night of the 8th August I was to seek. But that was not to be. Here, may I remind you that the Government of India have before now owned their mistakes? As for instance, in the Punjab when the late General Dyer was condemned; in the United Provinces when a corner of a mosque in Cawnpore was restored; and in Bengal when Partition was annulled. All these things were done in spite of great and previous mob violence.

To sum up:—

If you want me to act singly, convince me that I was wrong and I will make ample amends.

If you want me to make any proposal on behalf of the Congress you should put me among the Congress Working Committee members. I do plead with you to make up your mind to end the impasse.

If I am obscure or have not answered your letter fully please point out the omissions and I shall make an attempt to give you satisfaction.

I have no mental reservation.

I find that my letters to you are sent through the Government of Bombay. This procedure must involve some loss of time. As time is of the essence in this matter, perhaps you will issue instructions that my letters to you may be sent directly by the Superintendent of this camp.

I am, your sincere friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

·(4)·

H. E. the Viceroy on Congress and the Disturbances

[PERSONAL]

January 25, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Many thanks for your personal letter of the 19th January, which I have just received, and which I need not say I have read with close care and attention. But I am still, I fear, in the dark. I made clear to you in my last letter that, however reluctantly the course of events and my familiarity with what has been taking place has left me no choice but to regard the Congress movement, and you as its authorised and fully empowered spokesman at the time of the decision of last August as responsible for the sad campaign of violence and crime, and revolutionary acitivity which has done so much harm, and so much injury to India's credit, since last August. I note what you say about non-violence. I am very glad to read your unequivocal condemnation of violence, and I am well aware of the importance which you have given to that article of your creed in the past but the events of these last months, and even the events that are happening today show that it has not met with the full support of certain, at any rate, of your followers, and the mere fact that they may have fallen short of an ideal which you have advocated is no answer to the relations of those who have lost their lives, and to those themselves who have lost their property or suffered severe injury as a result of violent activities on the part of Congress and its supporters. And I cannot, I fear, accept as an answer your suggestion that " the whole blame " has been laid by you yourself at the door of the Government of India. We are dealing with facts in this matter and they have to be faced.

And while, as I made clear in my last letter, I am very anxious to have from you anything that you have to say or any specific proposition that you may have to make, the position remains that it is not the Government of India, but Congress and yourself, that are on their justification in this matter.

If therefore you are anxious to inform me that you repudiate or dissociate yourself from the resolution of the 9th August and the policy which that resolution represents and if you can give me appropriate assurances as regards the future, I shall, I need not say, be very ready to consider the matter further. It is of course very necessary to be clear on that point, and you will not, I know, take it amiss that I should make that clear in the plainest possible words.

I will ask the Governor of Bombay to arrange that any communication from you should be sent through him, which will, I trust, reduce delay in its transmission.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

(5)

Mr. Gandhi's Third Letter

January 29, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I must thank you warmly for your prompt reply to my letter of 19th instant. I wish I could agree with you that your letter is clear. I am sure you do not wish to imply by clearness simply that you hold a particular opinion strongly. I have pleaded and would continue to plead, till the last breath, that you should at least make an attempt to convince me of the validity of the opinion you hold that the August Resolution of the Congress is responsible for the popular violence that broke out on August 9 last and after even though it broke out after the wholesale arrest of principal Congress workers. Was not the drastic and unwarranted action of the Government responsible for the reported violence?

You have not even said what part of the August Resolution is bad or offensive in your opinion. That Resolution is in no way a retraction by the Congress of its policy of non-violence. It is definitely against Fascism in every shape or form. It tenders co-operation in the war effort under circumstances which alone can make effective and nationwide co-operation possible.

Is all this open to reproach? Objection may be raised to that clause of the Resolution which contemplated civil disobedience: but that itself cannot constitute an objection since the principle of civil disobedience is impliedly conceded in what is known as the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact." Even that civil disobedience was not to be started before knowing the result of the meeting for which I was to seek from you an appointment.

Then, take the unproved, and in my opinion, unprovable, charges hurled against the Congress and me by so responsible a minister as the Secretary of State for India.

Surely I can say with safety that it is for Government to justify their action by solid evidence not by mere *ipse dixit*.

But you throw in my face the facts of murders by persons reputed to be Congressmen. I see the fact of murders as clearly, I hope, as you do. My answer is that the Government goaded the people to the point of madness. They started leonine violence in the shape of the arrests already referred to. That violence is not any the less so because it is organised on a scale so gigantic that it displaces the Mosaic Law of tooth for tooth by that of 10,000 for one—not to mention the corollary of the Mosaic Law, *i.e.*, of non-resistance as enunciated by Jesus Christ. I cannot interpret in any other manner the repressive measures of the all-powerful Government of India.

Add to this tale of woe the privations of the poor millions due to India-wide scarcity which I cannot help thinking might have been largely mitigated, if not altogether prevented, had there been a *bona fide* National Government responsible to a popularly elected assembly.

If then I cannot get soothing balm for my pain I must resort to the law prescribed for *satyagrahis*, namely, a fast according to capacity. I must commence after the early morning breakfast of February 9, a fast for 21 days ending on the morning of March 2. Usually, during my fasts I take water with the addition of salts. But nowadays, my system refuses water. This time, therefore, I propose to add juices of citrus fruit to make water drinkable. For my wish is not to fast unto death, but to survive the ordeal, if God so wills. This fast can be ended sooner by the Government giving the needed relief.

I am not marking this letter personal as I did the two previous ones. They were in no way confidential. They were a mere personal appeal.

I am, your sincere friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

P.S.—The following was inadvertently omitted :—

The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August Resolution asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware, the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Q. A. Jinnah to form a National Government subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war, such Government being responsible to a duly elected assembly. Being isolated from the Working Committee except Shrimati Sarojini Devi, I do not know its present mind. But the Committee is not likely to have changed its mind.

(6)

Lord Linlithgow's Reply

February 5, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Many thanks for your letter of January 29, which I have just received. I have read, as always, with great care and with every anxiety to follow your mind and to do full justice to your argument. But I fear that my view of the responsibility of Congress and of yourself personally for the lamentable disorders of last autumn remains unchanged.

2. In my last letter I said that my knowledge of the facts left me no choice but to regard the Congress movement and you as its authorized and fully empowered leader at the time of the decision of last August as responsible for the campaign of violence and crime that subsequently broke out. In reply, you have reiterated your request that I should attempt to convince you that my opinion is correct. I would readily have responded earlier to that request were it not that your letters have no indication, such as I should have been entitled to expect, that you sought the information with an open mind. In each of them you have expressed profound distrust of the published reports of the recent happenings, although in your last letter, on the basis of same information, you have not hesitated to lay the whole blame for

them on the Government of India. In the same letter, you have stated that I cannot expect you to accept the accuracy of the official reports on which I rely. It is not, therefore, clear to me how you expect or even desire me to convince you of anything. But in fact the Government of India have never made any secret of their reasons for holding the Congress and its leaders responsible for the deplorable acts of violence, sabotage and terrorism that have occurred since the Congress Resolution of August 8 declared a "mass struggle" in support of its demands, appointed you as its leader and authorised all Congressmen to act for themselves in the event of interference with the leadership of the movement. A body which passes a Resolution in such terms is hardly entitled to disclaim responsibility for any events that followed it. There is evidence that you and your friends expected this policy to lead to violence and that you were prepared to condone it, and that the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan, conceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders. The general nature of the case against the Congress has been publicly stated by the Home Member, Government of India, in his speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 15th September last; and if you need further information I would refer you to it. I enclose a complete copy in case the Press versions that you must have seen were not sufficient. I need only add that all the mass of evidence that has since come to light has confirmed the conclusions then reached. I have ample information that the campaign of sabotage has been conducted under secret instructions, circulated in the name of the All-India Congress Committee; that well-known Congressmen have organised and freely taken part in acts of violence and murder; and that, even now, an underground Congress organisation exists in which, among others, the wife of a member of the Congress Working Committee plays a prominent part, and which is actively engaged in planning the bomb outrages and other acts of terrorism that have disgusted the whole country. If we do not act on all this information, or make it publicly known, it is because the time is not yet ripe; but you may rest assured that the charges against the Congress will have to be met sooner or later, and it will then be for you and your colleagues to clear yourselves before the world if you can. And if, in the meanwhile, you yourself by any action such as you now appear to be contemplating, attempt to find an easy way out, the judgment will go against you by default.

3. I have read with some surprise your statement that the principle of civil disobedience is implicitly conceded in the Delhi settlement of the 5th March 1931, which you refer to as the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact." I have again looked at the document. Its basis was that civil disobedience would be "effectively discontinued" and that certain reciprocal action would be taken by Government. It was inherent in such a document that it should take notice of the existence of civil disobedience. But I can find nothing in it to suggest that civil disobedience was recognised as being in any circumstances legitimate. And I cannot make it too plain that it is not so regarded by my Government.

4. To accept the point of view which you put forward would be to concede that the authorised Government of the country, on which lies the responsibility for maintaining peace and good order, should allow subversive and revolutionary movements, described by you yourself as open rebellion, to take place unchallenged; that they should allow preparations for violence, for the interruption of communications, for attacks on innocent persons, for the murder of police officers and others to proceed unchecked. My Government and I are open indeed to the charge that we should have taken drastic action at an earlier stage against you and against the Congress leaders. But my anxiety and that of my Government, has throughout been to give you, and to give the Congress organisation, every possible opportunity to withdraw from the position which you have decided to take up. Your statements of last June and July, the original resolution of the Working Committee of July 14, and your declaration on the same day that there was no room left for negotiations, and that after all, it was an open rebellion, are all of them grave and significant, even without your final exhortation to "do or die." But with a patience that was perhaps misplaced, it was decided to wait until the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee made it clear that there could be no further toleration of the Congress attitude if Government was to discharge its responsibility to the people of India.

5. Let me in conclusion say how greatly I regret, having regard to your health and your age, the decision that you tell me that you now have it in mind to take. I hope and pray that wiser counsels may yet prevail with you. But the decision whether or not to undertake a fast with its attendant risks is clearly one that must be taken by you alone, and the responsibility for which and for its consequences must rest on you alone. I trust sincerely that in the light of what I have said you may think better of your resolution; and I would welcome a decision on your part to think better of it, not only because of my own natural reluctance to see you wilfully risk your life, but because I regard the use of a fast for political purposes as a form of political blackmail (*himsa*) for which there can be no moral justification, and understood from your own previous writings that this was also your view.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

(7)

Mr. Gandhi's Fourth Letter

February 7, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I have to thank you for your long reply dated February 5 last. I would take your last point first, namely, the contemplated fast which begins on February 9. Your letter, from a *satyagrahi's* standpoint, is an invitation to fast. No doubt the responsibility for the step, and its consequences will be solely mine. You have allowed an expression to slip from your pen for which I was unprepared. In the concluding sentence of the second paragraph you describe the step as an attempt "to find an easy way out." That you, as a friend, can impute such a base and cowardly motive to me passes comprehension. You have also described it as "a form of political blackmail." And you quote my previous writings on the subject against me. I abide by my writings. I hold that there is nothing inconsistent in them with the contemplated step. I wonder whether you have yourself read those writings.

I do claim that I have approached you with an open mind when I asked you to convince me of my error. "Profound distrust" of the published reports is in no way inconsistent with my having an open mind.

You say that there is evidence that I—I leave my friends out for the moment—"expected this policy to lead to violence," that I was "prepared to condone it," and that "the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan conceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders." I have seen no evidence in support of such a serious charge. You admit that part of the evidence has yet to be published. The speech of the Home Member, of which you have favoured me with a copy, may be taken as the opening speech of the prosecution counsel and nothing more. It contains unsupported imputations against Congressmen. Of course, he has described the violent outburst in graphic language; but he has not said why it took place when it did. You have condemned men and women before trying them and hearing their defence. Surely, there is nothing wrong in my asking you to show me the evidence on which you hold them guilty. What you say in your letter carries no conviction. Proof should correspond to the canons of English jurisprudence.

If the wife of a member of the Working Committee is actively engaged in "planning the bomb outrages and other acts of terrorism," she should be tried before a court of law and punished if found guilty. The lady you refer to could only have done things attributed to her after the wholesale arrests of August 9 last, which I have dared to describe as a leonine violence.

You say that the time is not yet ripe to publish the charges against the Congress. Have you ever thought of the possibility of their being found baseless when they are put before an impartial tribunal? Or that some of the condemned persons might have died in the mean-

while, or that some of the evidence that the living can produce might become unavailable ?

I reiterate the statement that the principle of civil disobedience is implicitly conceded in the settlement of March 5, 1931, arrived at between the then Viceroy on behalf of the Government of India and myself on behalf of the Congress. I hope you know that the principal Congressmen were discharged before that settlement was even thought of. Certain reparations were made to Congressmen under that settlement. Civil disobedience was discontinued on certain conditions being fulfilled by the Government. That by itself was, in my opinion, an acknowledgment of its legitimacy, of course under given circumstances. It, therefore, seems somewhat strange to find you maintain that civil disobedience " cannot be recognised as being in any circumstances legitimate " by your Government. You ignore the practice of the British Government which has recognised this legitimacy under the name of " passive resistance."

Lastly you read into my letters a meaning which is wholly inconsistent with my declaration, in one of them, of adherence to unadulterated non-violence, for, you say in your letter under reply that " acceptance of my point of view would be to concede that the authorised Government of the country on which lies the responsibility for maintaining peace and good order, should allow movements to take place that would admit preparations for violence, interruption of communications, for attacks on innocent persons, for murders of police officers and others to proceed unchecked." I must be a strange friend of yours whom you believe to be capable of asking for recognition of such things as lawful.

I have not attempted an exhaustive reply to the views and statements attributed to me. This is not the place, nor the time, for such a reply. I have only picked out those things which, in my opinion, demanded an immediate answer. You have left me no loophole for escaping the ordeal I have set before myself. I begin it on February 9 with the clearest possible conscience. Despite your description of it as " a form of political blackmail," it is on my part meant to be an appeal to the highest tribunal for justice which I have failed to secure from you. If I do not survive the ordeal, I shall go to the Judgment Seat with the fullest faith in my innocence. Posterity will judge between you as representative of an all-powerful Government and me as a humble man who has tried to serve his country and humanity through it.

My last letter was written against time, and, therefore, a material paragraph went in as postscript. I now send herewith a fair copy typed by Pearey Lal who has taken Mahadeo Desai's place. You will find the postscript paragraph restored to the place where it should have been.

I am, your sincere friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

ANNEXURES

The following annexures containing Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy dated Aug. 14, 1942, the Viceroy's reply thereto, and Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, New Delhi, were released for publication with the foregoing correspondence.

ANNEXURE I

Mr. Gandhi's Letter

August 14, 1942.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

The Government of India were wrong in precipitating the crisis. The Government resolution justifying this step is full of distortions and misrepresentations. That you have the approval of your Indian colleagues can have no significance except this that in India you can always command such services. That co-operation is an additional justification for the demand of withdrawal irrespective of what people and parties may say.

The Government of India should have waited at least till the time I inaugurated mass action. I have publicly stated that I fully contemplated sending you a letter before taking concrete action. It was to be an appeal to you for an impartial examination of the Congress case. As you know the Congress has readily filled in every omission that has been discovered in the conception of its demand. So could I have dealt with every difficulty if you had given me the opportunity. The precipitate action of the Government leads one to think that they were afraid that the extreme caution and gradualness with which the Congress was moving towards direct action might make world opinion veer round to the Congress as it had already begun doing, and expose the hollowness of the grounds for the Government's rejection of the Congress demand. They should surely have waited for an authentic report of my speeches on Friday and on Saturday night after the passing of the resolution by the A.I.C.C. You would have found in them that I would not hastily begin action. You should have taken advantage of the interval foreshadowed in them, and explored every possibility of satisfying the Congress demand.

The resolution says: "The Government of India have waited patiently in the hope that wiser counsels might prevail. They have been disappointed in that hope." I suppose "wiser counsels" here means abandonment of its demand by the Congress. Why should the abandonment of the demand, legitimate at all times, be hoped for by a Government pledged to guarantee independence to India? Is it a challenge that could only be met by immediate repression instead of patient reasoning with the demanding party? I venture to suggest that it is a long draft upon the credulity of mankind to say that the acceptance of the demand would plunge India into confusion. Anyway the summary rejection of the demand *has* plunged the nation and the

Government into confusion. The Congress was making every effort to identify India with the Allied cause.

The Government resolution says: "The Governor-General in Council has been aware too for some days past of dangerous preparations by the Congress Party for unlawful and, in some cases, violent activities directed among other things to interruption of communications and public utility services, the organisation of strikes, tampering with the loyalty of Government servants and interference with defence measures including recruitment." This is a gross distortion of the reality. Violence was never contemplated at any stage. A definition of what could be included in non-violent action has been interpreted in a sinister and subtle manner, as if the Congress was preparing for violent action. Everything was openly discussed among Congress circles for nothing was to be done secretly. And why is it tampering with your loyalty if I ask you to give up a job which is harming the British people?

Instead of publishing behind the backs of principal Congressmen the misleading paragraphs, the Government, immediately they came to know of the " preparation " should have brought to book the parties concerned with the preparations. That would have been the appropriate course. By their unsupported allegations in the resolution they have laid themselves open to the charge of unfair dealing.

The Congress movement was intended to evoke in the people the measure of sacrifice sufficient to compel attention. It was intended to demonstrate what measure of popular support it had. Was it wise at this time of the day to seek to suppress a popular movement avowedly non-violent?

The Government resolution further says: "The Congress is not India's mouthpiece. Yet in the interests of securing their own dominance and in pursuit of their totalitarian policy its leaders have constantly impeded the efforts made to bring India to full nationhood." It is a gross libel thus to accuse the oldest national organisation of India. This language lies ill in the mouth of a Government which has, as can be proved from published records, consistently thwarted every national effort for attaining freedom, and sought to suppress the Congress by hook or by crook.

The Government of India have not condescended to consider the Congress offer that if simultaneously with the declaration of the independence of India, they could not trust the Congress to form a stable provisional Government, they should ask the Muslim League to do so and that any national government formed by the League would be loyally accepted by the Congress. Such an offer is hardly consistent with the charge of totalitarianism against the Congress.

Let me examine the Government offer. "It is that as soon as hostilities cease, India shall devise for herself with full freedom of decision and on a basis embracing all and not only a single party, the form of government which she regards as most suited to her conditions." Has this offer any reality about it? All parties have not agreed now. Will it be any more possible after the war? And if the parties have to

act before independence is in their hands? Parties grow up like mushrooms, for without proving their representative character, the Government will welcome them as they have done in the past and if they, the parties, oppose the Congress and its activities, though they, may do lip homage to independence, frustration is inherent in the Government offer. Hence the logical cry of withdrawal first. Only after the end of British power and a fundamental change in the political status of India from bondage to freedom, will the formation of a truly representative Government, whether provisional or permanent, be possible. The living burial of the author of the demand has not resolved the deadlock, it has aggravated it.

Then the resolution proceeds :—" The suggestion put forward by the Congress Party that the millions of India, uncertain as to the future, are ready, despite the sad lessons of so many martyr countries, to throw themselves into the arms of the invaders, is one that the Government of India cannot accept as a true representation of the feeling of the people of this great country." I do not know about the millions, but I can give my own evidence in support of the Congress statement.

It is open to the Government not to believe the Congress evidence. No imperial power likes to be told that it is in peril. It is because the Congress is anxious for Great Britain to avoid the fate that has overtaken other imperial powers that it asked her to shed imperialism voluntarily by declaring India independent. The Congress has not approached the movement with any but the friendliest motives. The Congress seeks to kill imperialism as much for the sake of the British people and humanity as for India. Notwithstanding assertions to the contrary I maintain that the Congress has no interests of its own, apart from that of the whole of India and the world.

The following passage from the peroration in the resolution is interesting :—" But on them lies the task of defending India, of maintaining India's capacity to wage war, of safeguarding India's interests, of holding the balance between the different sections of her people without fear or favour." All I can say is that it is a mockery of truth after the experience of Malaya, Singapore and Burma. It is sad to find the Government of India claiming to hold the " balance " between the parties for which it is itself demonstrably responsible.

One thing more. The declared cause is common between the Government of India and us. To put it in the most concrete terms, it is the protection of the freedom of China and Russia. The Government of India think that the freedom of India is not necessary for winning the cause. I think exactly the opposite. I have taken Jawaharlal Nehru as my measuring rod. His personal contacts make him feel much more the misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia than I can—and may I say than even you can. In that misery he tried to forget his old quarrel with imperialism. He dreads much more than I do the success of Fascism and Nazism. I have argued with him for days together. He fought against my position with a passion which I have no words to describe. But the logic of facts

overwhelmed him. He yielded when he saw clearly that without the freedom of India that of the other two was in great jeopardy. Surely you are wrong in having imprisoned such a powerful friend and ally. If, notwithstanding the common cause, the Government's answer to the Congress demand is hasty repression, they will not wonder if I draw the inference that it was not so much the Allied cause that weighed with the British Government as the unexpressed determination to cling to the possession of India as an indispensable part of imperial policy. This determination led to the rejection of the Congress demand and precipitated repression. The present mutual slaughter on a scale never before known to history is suffocating enough. But the slaughter of truth accompanying the butchery and enforced by the falsity of which the resolution is reeking adds strength to the Congress position.

It causes me deep pain to have to send you this long letter. But, however much I dislike your action I remain the same friend you have known me. I would still plead for reconsideration of the Government of India's whole policy. Do not disregard the pleading of one who claims to be a sincere friend of the British people. Heaven guide you !

I am, yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

ANNEXURE II

The Viceroy's Reply

August 22, 1942.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you very much for your letter, dated August 14, which reached me only a day or two ago.

I have read, I need not say, what you have been good enough to say in your letter with very close attention, and I have given full weight to your views. But I fear in the result that it would not be possible for me either to accept the criticisms which you advance of the resolution of the Governor-General in Council, or your request that the whole policy of the Government of India should be reconsidered.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW.

ANNEXURE III

Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Secretary, Government of India (Home Department) :—

September 23, 1942.

Sir,

In spite of the chorus of approval sung by the Indian Councillors and others of the present Government policy in dealing with the Congress, I venture to assert that, had the Government but awaited my contemplated letter to H.E. the Viceroy and the result thereafter no calamity would have overtaken the country. The reported deplorable destruction would have most certainly been avoided.

In spite of all that has been said to the contrary I claim that the Congress policy still remains unequivocally non-violent. The wholesale arrest of the Congress leaders seems to have made the people wild with rage to the point of losing self-control. I feel that the Government, not the Congress, are responsible for the destruction that has taken place. The only right course for the Government seems to me to be to release the Congress leaders, withdraw all repressive measures and explore ways and means of conciliation. Surely the Government have ample resources to deal with any overt act of violence. Repression can only breed discontent and bitterness.

Since I am permitted to receive newspapers, I feel that I owe it to the Government to give my reaction to the said happenings in the country. If the Government think that as a prisoner I have no right to address such communications, they have but to say so, and I will not repeat the mistake.

I am, yours etc.,
M. K. GANDHI.

(NOTE :—A formal acknowledgment was sent to this letter.)

Correspondence between the Additional Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department and Mr. Gandhi:

(1)

Sir Richard Tottenham's Letter

February 7, 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

The Government of India have been informed by H.E. the Viceroy of your intention as communicated to him of undertaking a fast for 21 days in certain circumstances. They have carefully considered the position, and the conclusions that they have reached in the light of such consideration are set out in the statement of which a copy is enclosed, which they would propose, in the event of your maintaining your present intention, to release in due course to the Press.

The Government of India, as you will see from their statement, would be very reluctant to see you fast, and I am instructed to inform you that, as the statement makes clear, they would propose that, should you persist in your intention, you will be set at liberty for the purpose, and for the duration, of your fast as from the time of its commencement. During the period of your fast, there will be no objection to your proceeding where you wish, though the Government of India trust that you will be able to arrange for your accommodation away from the Aga Khan's Palace.

Should you for any reason find yourself unable to take advantage of these arrangements, a decision which the Government of India would greatly regret, they will, of course, suitably amend the statement of which a copy is now enclosed before it issues. But they wish me to repeat, with all earnestness, their anxiety and their hope that the considerations which have carried so much weight with them will equally carry weight with you, and that you will not pursue your present tentative proposal. In that event no occasion will of course arise for the issue of any statement of any kind.

Yours sincerely,

R. TOTTENHAM.

(2).

Mr. Gandhi's Reply

February 8, 1943.

Dear Sir Richard,

I have very carefully studied your letter. I am sorry to say that there is nothing in the correspondence which has taken place between His Excellency and myself or your letter to warrant a recalling of my intention to fast. I have mentioned in my letters to H.E. the conditions which can induce prevention or suspension of the step.

If the temporary release is offered for my convenience, I do not need it. I shall be quite content to take my fast as a detenu or prisoner. If it is for the convenience of the Government, I am sorry I am unable to suit them, much as I should like to do so. I can say this much, that I, as a prisoner, shall avoid, as far as is humanly possible, every cause of inconvenience to the Government save what is inherent in the fast itself.

The impending fast has not been conceived to be taken as a free man. Circumstances may arise, as they have done before now, when I may have to fast as a free man. If, therefore, I am released, there will be no fast in terms of my correspondence above-mentioned. I shall have to survey the situation *de novo* and decide what I should do. I have no desire to be released under false pretences.

In spite of all that has been said against me, I hope not to belie the vow of truth and non-violence which alone makes life livable for me. I say this if it is only for my own satisfaction. It does me good to reiterate openly my faith when outer darkness surrounds me as it does just now.

I must not hustle the Government into a decision on this letter. I understand that your letter has been dictated through the telephone. In order to give the Government enough time, I shall suspend the fast if necessary, to Wednesday next, 10th instant.

So far as the statement proposed to be issued by the Government is concerned, and of which you have favoured me with a copy, I can have no opinion. But, if I might have, I must say that it does me an injustice. The proper course would be to publish the full correspondence and let the public judge for themselves.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi.

(3)

Sir Richard Tottenham on Government's Position

Dear Mr. Gandhi, *February* 9, 1943.

I am instructed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 8, 1943, which has been laid before the Governor-General in Council. The Government of India noted your decision with great regret. Their position remains the same, that is to say, they are ready to set you at liberty for the purpose and duration of your fast. But, if you are not prepared to take advantage of that fact, and if you fast while in detention, you will do so solely on your own responsibility and at your own risk. In that event you will be at liberty to have your own medical attendants and also to receive visits from friends with the permission of the Government during its period. Suitable drafting alterations will be made in the statement which the Government of India would, in that event, issue to the Press.

Yours sincerely,

R. TOTTENHAM.

UBIQUITOUS VIRTUES.

Mr. Gandhi wrote to Lord Linlithgow on September 27, 1943, as follows :—

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

On the eve of your departure from India I would like to send you a word. Of all the high functionaries I have had the honour of knowing none has been the cause of such deep sorrow to me as you have been. It has cut me to the quick to have to think of you as having countenanced untruth, and that regarding one whom you at one time considered as your friend. I hope and pray that God will some day put it into your heart to realize that you, a representative of a great nation, had been led into a grievous error.

With good wishes, I still remain,

Your friend,

M. K. GANDHI.

To the above Lord Linlithgow replied marked " Personal ", dated October 7, 1943 :—

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have received your letter of 27th September. I am indeed sorry that your feelings about any deeds or words of mine should be as you describe. But I must be allowed, as gently as I may, to make plain to you that I am quite unable to accept your interpretation of the events in question.

As for the corrective virtues of time and reflection, evidently they are ubiquitous in their operation, and wisely to be rejected by no man.

I am sincerely,

LINLITHGOW.

APPENDIX I

RESIGNATION OF TWO MINISTRIES

A White Paper presented by the Secretary of State for India to Parliament in February 1938 *on the subject of resignation of Ministries in Bihar and the United Provinces on the issue of release of political prisoners, contained the Governor-General's statement of February* 22, 1938, *which appears on page* 140 *of this volume, and the following orders, minutes, etc.* :—

Text of Order for Release of Prisoners passed by Prime Minister of Bihar (*on February* 14, 1938) :—

"There are still quite a good number of political prisoners in jails of the Province. These prisoners have publicly renounced their faith in violence, and have also given written assurances to that effect. After the Bihar prisoners in the Andamans were repatriated to India I saw these political prisoners in Hazaribagh and Bhagalpur jails with a view to knowing their minds. From my talks with them I felt convinced that they have given up their creed of violence. The political prisoners have all over the world, on such occasions, been treated differently from other criminals and, even in the interests of ensuring peace and tranquillity, it is necessary that Government should show its appreciation of this welcome change in them by making a noble and statesmanlike gesture. By making such a gesture we shall only be making more zealous converts of them to the creed of non-violence, and will ensure peace and tranquillity in the Province. This gesture should take the form of a general release of them. It is after very careful and anxious consideration that I have come to this conclusion ; I tried my best to understand if special responsibilities of Governor or Governor-General at all came in, and I feel convinced that it is not so. I, therefore, order that following political prisoners should be released forthwith. (Here followed names of 23 terrorist prisoners given in statement below.) Orders are to issue today, and I should get a report by 4 p.m. that orders have issued. Besides the above there are a few prisoners left, regarding whom it is not yet settled if they are political prisoners. Orders regarding them will be passed later on."

Governor of Bihar's Minute on Prime Minister's Order.

"The minute by the Honourable Prime Minister dated 14th February, 1938, received by me at 1 p.m. containing a direction to the Chief Secretary to issue by 4 p.m. today orders for release forthwith of 23 political prisoners, has been submitted to me by the Chief Secretary in accordance with the Rules of Business. The question was discussed at a meeting of the Council of Ministers held on the morning of 12th February, 1938, at which the Council agreed with the views of the Honourable Prime Minister as recapitulated in the minute, and with the proposal to prepare an order regarding the release of these

political prisoners, which will be submitted to His Excellency the Governor as is prescribed by Rules of Business.

This proposal by the Prime Minister and his colleagues has been rightly brought to my notice. I did at the meeting on 12th February explain, as I had done on previous occasions, that in my view the appropriate course is to examine cases on their merits and discuss individual releases, rather than to direct a general release of all remaining prisoners. In view of definite recommendation now made to me by the Honourable Prime Minister in accordance with opinion of the Council, it is necessary for me to consider what action should be taken in the light of their advice. In particular as I made clear at the meeting, and also to the Honourable Prime Minister on other occasions, it appears to me that the proposal for an immediate release of all the remaining political prisoners involves issues of more than a purely provincial significance. It will, I think, be recognised that it is not possible for me to deal finally with this matter in the short period suggested by the Honourable Prime Minister."

Communique issued by the Governor of the United Provinces :

(*Note.*—In the United Provinces the Ministers informed the Governor of their decision to release their political prisoners but did not issue any written orders in the matter. Consequently the Governor did not record any minute as was the case in Bihar but issued the following statement to the Press on 16th February.)

At the end of August, His Excellency the Governor agreed to release the prisoners convicted in connection with the Kakori Conspiracy case in which a number of murders and robberies were committed.

Their release was followed by a widespread demonstration of a revolutionary character including the incitement of the people to violence as a result of which the policy of gradually releasing prisoners guilty of acts of violence was temporarily suspended.

As a result of this counter-action taken by the Government the atmosphere improved and the question of the release of the remaining prisoners was taken up again in January, the Governor expressing his willingness to consider the release of individual prisoners on examination of their records.

The Ministers felt unable to accept this course and formally advised the Governor to agree to the immediate release of 15 prisoners of whom six had been actively engaged in the terrorist movement and the remainder had been convicted of robbery with violence.

The Governor drew the attention of the Ministers to the serious nature of the issue involved but the latter were unable to modify their advice and the Governor accordingly referred the matter to the Governor-General.

The Governor-General thereupon issued instructions to him under Section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act. In the light of

these instructions, the Governor found himself unable to accept the advice of the Ministers who consequently tendered their resignations.

The Governor replied that before accepting the resignations he must consider alternative arrangements to enable the King's Government to be carried on.

Instruction from Governor-General to Governors of Bihar and United Provinces by Telegram dated 15th February.

I have carefully considered position in relation to my own responsibilities, but, with a full sense of gravity of the issues involved, I have no choice but to instruct you under the provisions of Section 126 (5)* that, despite the advice in the contrary sense of your Ministers, you should decline to agree to the proposed general release of your "political" prisoners.

STATEMENT OF MINISTRIES IN BIHAR AND UNITED PROVINCES.

(*A*) *Letter from Bihar Ministry to Governor of Bihar, February* 15, 1938:

Having considered Your Excellency's note of 15th February, 1938, in connection with release of political prisoners, we have decided to resign our office, which we hereby do. We feel that conditions in which power in discharging special responsibilities in respect of peace and order could be legitimately exercised, do not exist in the Province. Nor are they likely to arise after release of 23 political prisoners on which, on grounds of policy and principle, we have insisted. We are not prepared to agree that release of these prisoners would have affected peace and tranquillity anywhere outside Bihar either. In this view of the matter we cannot but regard action of His Excellency the Governor-General, in a matter which is the primary concern of the Provincial Government, as a grave breach of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. It is, therefore, no longer possible for us to continue in office. We are not prepared to submit to the course adopted by His Excellency the Governor and we have no alternative but to decline to be in office under such conditions. We therefore place our resignation in Your Excellency's hands.

(*B*) *Letter from Prime Minister of the United Provinces to Governor of the United Provinces, February* 15, 1938:

As Your Excellency intimated to me and my colleagues that, in compliance with order issued to you by the Governor-General under

* § 126 (5) "Without prejudice to his powers under the last preceding sub-section, the Governor-General, acting in his discretion, may at any time issue orders to the Governor of a Province as to the manner in which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof."

Section 126 (5)* of Government of India Act, you are bound to reject the advice which we thought it our duty to tender to you in regard to the release of political prisoners, we think the only course open to us is to tender our resignations, which we hereby do. The issue now raised is of the widest importance both from the constitutional and the administrative points of view. The release of political prisoners has formed a prominent part of Congress programme throughout. It was distinctly mentioned in Congress election manifesto and the electorate in overwhelming numbers has supported the demand of Congress. It was again urged in resolution passed by the Convention in Delhi in March last year. The British Government must therefore have been fully aware of Congress policy and its implication in regard to this matter. It is unthinkable that Governor-General should not have realised that Congress, whenever it accepted office, would take the earliest opportunity to implement Congress programme and to honour its pledges. The Congress was invited to accept office with full knowledge of these facts. An assurance was also definitely held out that Congress in office would be free to carry out its programme. It is exceedingly strange, that when, after prolonged and patient consideration and discussion we proceed to give effect to Congress policy, the Governor-General issues his orders under Section 126 to thwart the Congress Ministry in this Province in this matter. The reasons which have weighed with the Governor-General in taking this decision are not known to us, and in spite of our request to Your Excellency you expressed your inability to disclose them to us. The responsibility for maintaining law and order in the Province is that of Ministers. No Council of Ministers can discharge its functions satisfactorily if its considered opinion is disregarded arbitrarily in respect of momentous questions, strictly falling within their purview, by outside authority, and when even the courtesy of mentioning the grounds on which such interference is sought is not shown to it. It is inconceivable that release of no more than 15 political prisoners, some of whom were merely boys when they were convicted, and several of whom have undergone long terms of imprisonment and are due to be released within a few months in the usual course, can be a grave menace to peace and tranquillity of any Province in India. We have every reason to believe and are definitely assured that they have abjured the path of violence. The jail authorities have a similar impression after a close observation of individual prisoners in their charge. We have discussed this question on numerous occasions with Your Excellency and we are inclined to believe that you have come at least to appreciate our point of view. The decision of the Governor-General is attributed to extra-provincial affairs and it is significant that action has been taken under Section 126 and not under Section 54, which suggests that Governor of the Province does not consider that there is any

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* § 126 (5) "Without prejudice to his powers under the last preceding sub-section, the Governor-General, acting in his discretion, may at any time issue orders to the Governor of a Province as to the manner in which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof."

menace to peace and tranquillity inside the Province itself. There is an insistent demand in the country for the release of these prisoners and it has been forcefully voiced in our own Assembly by all sections from time to time. Their non-release is apt to disturb peaceful atmosphere, to engender tension and to hamper growth of non-violence spirit. The Government of Burma has recently released all the rebellion prisoners. A general release of all political prisoners followed in 1921, immediately after the introduction of dyarchy in the Province. We have had occasion to discuss this question in all its aspects with you during the last seven months. While there have been hunger strikes in every other Province, the prisoners here have refrained from doing so and have reposed their trust in us. We had far-reaching and comprehensive programme for agrarian reforms, rural developments, jail reforms, overhaul of local self-governing bodies, education, prohibition and excise reforms, and several other large issues which called for a tranquil atmosphere for their solution. This interference on the part of the Governor-General in the ordinary administration of the Province raises a constitutional issue of gravest import and, instead of promoting peace and tranquillity, is likely to imperil it, not only in this Province but elsewhere in India also. In our considered judgment their release is essential in public interest, and Governor-General has, by his orders, disabled us from performing our elementary duty in this respect. We look upon this interference as an utter abuse, even of provisions of Section 126 (5), and it brings vividly home to us the unsubstantial character of autonomy which Provinces are supposed to enjoy, when advice of Council of Ministers can be trampled upon by one entirely outside the Province, and having no direct contact with it, and not a live part in its affairs. In the circumstances there is no alternative to the course which we have taken and we would request you to accept this resignation.*

(The list of the prisoners in question, appears on the following two pages.)

* The difficulties were resolved subsequently and the Ministers resumed office.

The Prisoners and Their Sentences

Bihar

	Name.	Age.	Sentence Length (in years).	Date.		Offence.
1.	Jogendra Sukul	40	10	October	1931	Dacoity with murder.
			10	March	1932	Criminal conspiracy to commit dacoity.
2.	Kedarmoni Sukul	32	10	October	1931	Dacoity with murder.
3.	Surajnath Chaube	26	Life		1932	
4.	Kanhai Lal Missir	36	Life		1932	Terrorist conspiracy. Sentenced under S. 121A, Indian Penal Code.
5.	Shyam Agarwala	25	Life		1932	
6.	Shamdeo Narain	29	Life		1932	
7.	Mahant Ram Raman Das ..	41	10	August	1933	Criminal conspiracy to commit dacoity and offences under Explosives Act.
8.	Sakaldip Raut	35	Life	August	1932	Train wrecking.
9.	Rampratap Singh	37	Life	August	1932	Train wrecking.
10.	Ram Prasad Singh	Not known.	Life	August	1932	Dacoity with murder.
11.	Lekh Narain Lall	18	6	March	1935	Offences under Explosives Act.
12.	Dayanand Jha	33	14			
13.	Shiva Kant Misra	29	14	March	1936	Offences under Explosives Act.
14.	Brahmdeo Narayan Thakur	31	14			
15.	Chandra Kant Misra ..	25	5			
16.	Chandrika Singh	27	Life	May	1934	Attempted murder.
17.	Ragho Prasad					
18.	Panna Lal	About 19	5	May	1937	Offences under Explosives Act and for criminal conspiracy.
19.	Ram Babu					
20.	Ahjani Kumar Singh ..	Not known.	5	April	1937	Offences under Explosives Act.
21.	Sheo Prasad	22	2½			
22.	Satya Narayan Misra ..	19	3½	September	1937	Offences under Explosives Act.
23.	Rajendra Prasad	54	2½			

The United Provinces

Name.	Age.	Sentence Length (in years).	Date.	Offence.
1. Yashpal	33	14	March 1932	Attempted murder and offences under Arms Act.
2. Halder Bajpai	30	6	December 1932	Attempted murder.
3. Rajendra Prasad Nigam ..	29	9	November 1932	Attempted murder and offences under Arms Act.
4. Chandra Man Singh	28	7	January 1943	Attempted murder and offences under Arms Act.
5. Ramesh Chandra Gupta ..	25	10	December 1931	Attempted murder and offences under Arms Act.
6. Desraj Singh	30	3	June 1936	Offences under Arms Act.
7. Kanta Prasad	38	7	February 1932	Offences under Arms Act.
8. Balak Ram	24	7	1937	Attempted murder (not for political motive).
9. Jogeshwar	26	14	August 1933	For possessing bombs and explosives.
10. Puttu Singh	32	6	August 1932	For possessing coining implements and explosives.
11. Roshan Singh	23	1½	1937	Mail robbery and hurt.
12. Ram Sahai	23	1½	1937	Mail robbery and hurt.
13. Gurcharan Singh	33	10 years 10 months.	February 1929	Various offences of cheating and under Explosives Substances Act.
14. Ganga Prasad	23	4	1936	Dacoity.
15. Asutosh Ganguli	27	1 year 3 months	August 1937	For taking part in the operations of an unlawful association, the Communist Party of India, and offences under the Press Emergency Powers Act.

APPENDIX II

THE VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—ENLARGEMENT IN 1941.

By a communique dated July 22, 1941, the number of members of the Governor-General's Executive Council was increased from seven to twelve. The members of the Executive Council had been four Europeans and three Indians, apart from the Governor-General; in the new Council, the number of Indian members was eight and they were in a majority of two to one.

It was, said the Secretary of State for India in the Commons on August 1, 1941, " a change not indeed in the form of the Constitution but in its spirit ".

At the same time, " to associate Indian non-official opinion as fully as possible with the prosecution of the war ", a National Defence Council was established.

On this Council for the first time, Indian Princes sat with representatives of British India as members of the regularly constituted all-India body for the prosecution of a common purpose.

Of the 22 seats for British India, three went each to the major Provinces (Madras, Bombay, Bengal, U.P. and the Punjab) and one each to the remaining Provinces, besides one seat for Anglo-Indians. Muslims were represented by four Prime Ministers besides a former Acting Governor and the Speaker of the North-West Frontier Province Assembly and by the only lady representative, Begum Shah Nawaz.

Commerce was represented by Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Sir J. P. Srivastava, Mr. Morton, the Kumararajah of Chettinad and Mr. Biren Mukerjee.

Labour by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Dr. Ambedkar.

Landholders by the Maharaja of Darbhanga, the Nawab of Chhatari and the Raja Bahadur of Khallikote.

Women by Begum Shah Nawaz.

Military interests by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan.

Minority communities were also represented, *e.g.*, Parsis—Sir Cowasjee Jehangir ; Scheduled Castes—Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Rajah; Anglo-Indians—Sir Henry Gidney ; Indian Christians—Prof. Ahmed Shah.

Text of the communique of July 22, 1941 :

" As a result of the increased pressure of work in connection with the War it has been decided to enlarge the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India in order to permit the separation of portfolios of Law and Supply and of Commerce and Labour ; the division of the present portfolio of Education, Health and Lands into separate portfolios of Education, Health and Lands and Indians

Overseas; and the creation of portfolios of Information and of Civil Defence. His Majesty the King has approved the following appointments to the five new seats on the Council:—

Member for Supply—Sir Hormusji P. Mody, K.B.E., M.L.A. (Central).

Member for Information—The Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, P.C.

Member for Civil Defence—Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao.

Member for Labour—Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.I.E.

Member for Indians Overseas—Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central).

For the vacancies which will occur when Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan and Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai take up the posts to which they have recently been appointed, His Majesty has approved the appointment of:—

Sir Sultan Ahmed to be Law Member, and

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, M.L.A., to be Member for Education, Health and Lands.

National Defence Council.

In pursuance of the desire of His Majesty's Government to associate Indian non-official opinion as fully as possible with the prosecution of the war, approval, on the recommendation of the Viceroy, has also been given to the establishment of a National Defence Council, the first meeting of which will take place next month. The Council, the strength of which will be about 30 members, will include representatives of Indian States as well as of provinces and of other elements in the national life of British India in its relation to the war effort.

The following will be the members from British India:—

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.L.A.;

The Hon'ble Maulavi Saiyid Sir Mohammed Saadulla, M.L.A., Chief Minister of Assam;

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, M.L.A., Chief Minister of Bengal;

Sir Mohammed Ahmad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhatari, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.B.E.;

Kumararaja Sir Muthia Chettiyar of Chettinad, M.L.A.;

The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, K.C.I.E.;

Mr. Ramarao Madhavrao Deshmukh, M.L.A.;

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney, M.L.A.;

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bart., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A.;

The Raja Bahadur of Khallikote, M.L.A.;

The Hon'ble Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan, M.L.A.;

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, M.L.A. ;

Mr. G. B. Morton, O.B.E. ;

Mr. Biren Mukerjee ;

Lieut. Sardar Naunihal Singh Man, M.B.E., M.L.A. ;

Begum Shah Nawaz, M.L.A. ;

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Major Sirdar Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, K.B.E., M.L.A., Premier of the Punjab ;

Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah ;

Professor E. Ahmad Shah ;

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Mohammed Umar Soomro, O.B.E., M.L.A., Chief Minister of Sind ;

Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, M.L.A., and

Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E."

The names of the Indian States members were announced separately.

APPENDIX III

THE CRIPPS PROPOSALS.

The conclusions of the British War Cabinet set out below are those which Sir Stafford Cripps brought with him for discussion with Indian Leaders in March, 1942:—

"His Majesty's Government having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India have decided to lay down in précise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

His Majesty's Government, therefore, make the following Declaration :—

(*a*) Immediately upon cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(*b*) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for participation of Indian States in the Constitution-making body.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject to :—

(i) The right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides. With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) The signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body. This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities;

but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(*d*) The Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities :—

Immediately upon the result being known of Provincial Elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of Provincial Legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to the election of the Constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about 1/10th of the number of the electoral college.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian members.

(*e*) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India."

APPENDIX IV

FURTHER ENLARGEMENT OF THE COUNCIL.

A Press Note dated New Delhi, July 3, 1942, announced:

For the second time since the outbreak of the war the Viceroy's Executive Council has been expanded. The need to create a membership for Defence, to provide for India's representation at the War Cabinet and in the Pacific War Council and to divide the heavy single charge of Communications has involved the addition of three members to the Council's present strength.

As in the previous expansion of 1941, the purpose of the present expansion is to associate representative Indian opinion more closely in the conduct of the war and to provide for the increasing burden of war work, within the framework of the present constitution.

Membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council has been increased from 12 to 15, with eleven non-official Indians, one non-official European and three European officials (including the Commander-in-Chief). On the outbreak of the war the strength of the Council was seven, with three Indian members. In the July, 1941, expansion five new portfolios were created and Indians were placed in charge of them. In the present expansion the Indian majority has been further increased to eleven.

Six new members have been appointed to the vacancies arising from the deaths of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari and Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, and the appointments of Sir Firoz Khan Noon as Defence Member, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar to the Pacific War Council and the War Cabinet and Sir Andrew Clow as Governor of Assam and the splitting up of the Communications portfolio into War Transport and Posts and Air.

The Viceroy's Executive Council as expanded and reconstituted provides for the first time representation for the Sikhs, the Depressed Classes and the non-official European community. With the communities already represented the Council provides a cross-section of the principal communities and interests in India who have shown themselves ready to co-operate in a War Government under the conditions imposed by the existing constitution.

Geographically, the Council is representative of Madras, Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar.

His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar and Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, while representing India at the War Cabinet, will have the same status as the representatives of Dominions. Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, while in London, will continue to be a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The following subjects will be included in the Defence portfolio :

(1) All questions concerning Defence which involve co-ordination of policy and action between the Civil Departments of the Government of India and the work of the War Member. (This was previously in the Governor-General's own portfolio) ;

(2) War legislation including the Defence of India Act and Rules made thereunder ;

(3) Demobilisation and post-war reconstruction as far as the Defence Forces and Labour Forces are concerned ;

(4) Manpower, including the administration of the National Service (European British subjects) Act ;

(5) Amenities for and welfare of troops ;

(6) National Defence Council ;

(7) Local Self-Government in Cantonment areas (not being cantonment areas of Indian State Forces), the constitution and powers within such areas of Cantonment authorities, the regulation of house accommodation in such areas, and, within British India, the delimitation of such areas ;

(8) Acquisition, custody and relinquishment of land vested in the Crown for purposes of Defence ;

(9) Co-ordination of the provision, storage, location, transport, etc., of petroleum products of all kinds including those required by the Defence Forces ; and

(10) Prisoners of War.

The growing problems of transport for defence purposes have necessitated the creation of a new Department dealing with War Transport. Its principal responsibility will be the utilisation and development of transport by road and water and the portfolio will include the Railway Board, Ports, Railway Priorities, Petrol Rationing and the development of Producer Gas. Other subjects formerly included in the Communications portfolio, of which the most important are Posts and Telegraphs, Civil Aviation, Motor Vehicles Legislation and the administration of the Central Road Fund, will be included in a second portfolio to be called Posts and Air.

II

Text of the Communique of July 2, 1942 :—

His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Dr. B. R.

Ambedkar, Sir E. C. Benthall, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.B.E., and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E., to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

The following appointments to portfolios have been made by the Governor-General :—

As Member in charge of Information Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in succession to the late Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari.

As Member in charge of Civil Defence Sir J. P. Srivastava in succession to the late Hon'ble Dr. Raghavendra Rao.

As Members for War Transport and for Posts and Air respectively consequent on the appointment of Sir Andrew Clow, late Member in charge of Communications, to be Governor of Assam, Sir E. C. Benthall and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman.

As Member for Defence the Hon'ble Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon.

As Commerce Member the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, to succeed the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar (who will remain a member of the Council) on his appointment as a representative of India at the War Cabinet.

As Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands in succession to the Hon'ble Mr. Sarker, Sir Jogendra Singh.

As Member in charge of the Department of Labour in succession to the Hon'ble Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

The portfolio of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will in future be designated the War portfolio.

The new Defence Member will be responsible for the work at present discharged by the Defence Co-ordination Department, together with such other matters relating to the defence of India as are not included in the portfolios of War and Civil Defence.

APPENDIX V

COMMUNIQUE ON MR. GANDHI'S FAST.

The correspondence referred to in the following Press Communique issued on Mr. Gandhi's fast in February, 1943, *will be found in Part IV of this volume.*

" Mr. Gandhi has informed H.E. the Viceroy that he proposes to undertake a fast of three weeks' duration from February 10. It is to be a fast according to capacity, and during it Mr. Gandhi proposes to add juices of citrus fruit to water to make water drinkable, as his wish is not to fast to death but to survive the ordeal," said a Press *Communique* issued by the Government of India on February 10, 1943.

The *Communique* added :

" The Government of India deplore the use of the weapon of fasting to achieve political ends. There can, in their judgment, be no justification for it, and Mr. Gandhi has himself admitted in the past that it contains an element of coercion.

" The Government of India can only express their regret that Mr. Gandhi should think it necessary to employ such a weapon on this occasion, and should seek justification for it in anything which Government may have said or done in connexion with the movement initiated by him and his co-workers in the Congress Party.

" The Government of India have no intention on their part of allowing the fast to deflect their policy. Nor will they be responsible for its consequences on Mr. Gandhi's health. They cannot prevent Mr. Gandhi from fasting. It was their wish, however, that if he decided to do so, he should do so as a free man and under his own arrangements, so as to bring out clearly that the responsibility for any fast and its consequences rested exclusively with him.

" They accordingly informed Mr. Gandhi that he would be released for the purpose and for the duration of the fast of which he had notified them, and with him any members of the Party living with him who may wish to accompany him. Mr. Gandhi in reply has expressed his readiness to abandon his intended fast if released, failing which he will fast in detention. In other words, it is now clear that only his unconditional release could prevent him from fasting. This, the Government of India are not prepared to concede. Their position remains the same, that is to say, they are ready to set Mr. Gandhi at liberty for the purpose and duration of his fast. But if Mr. Gandhi is not prepared to take advantage of that fact and if he fasts while in detention, he does so solely on his own responsibility and at his own risk. He would be at liberty in that event to have his own medical attendants, and also to receive visits from friends with the permission of Government during its period.

"The Government of India propose to issue, in due course, a full statement on the origin and development of the movement which was initiated in August last, and the measures which Government have been compelled to adopt to deal with it, but they think this is a suitable occasion for a brief review of the events of the last few months.

"Mr. Gandhi in his correspondence with the Viceroy has repudiated all responsibility for the consequences which have flowed from the 'Quit India' demand which he and the Congress Party have put forward. This contention will not bear examination. Mr. Gandhi's own statement, before the movement was launched, envisaged anarchy as an alternative to the existing order and referred to the struggle 'as a fight to the finish', in the course of which he would not 'hesitate to run any risk however great.' As much has been made of his offer to meet the Viceroy, it is necessary to point out that at a Press interview on July 14, after the Working Committee resolution was passed, Mr. Gandhi stated that there was no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation, there was no question of one more chance; after all it was an open rebellion which was to be as short and as swift as possible.

"His last message was 'do or die.' The speeches of those most closely associated with Mr. Gandhi have been even more explicit, and have given a clear indication of what the Congress High Command had in mind in launching their attack—an attack which would, if realised, have most seriously imperilled the whole cause of the United Nations—against Government as by law established, and against the agencies and services by which the life of the country was being conducted, in a period, be it noted, of exceptional stress and strain, and of grave danger to India from Japanese aggression.

"The instructions issued by the various Congress organisations, contained in leaflets which were found to be freely circulating in almost every part of India and which, on the evidence, cannot all be disowned as unauthorised, gave specific directions as to the methods which were to be employed for bringing the administration to a standstill.

"The circular of July 29 emanating from the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee is an instance in point. It is noteworthy in this connexion that in widely separated areas all over the country identical methods of attacks on railways and other communications were employed, requiring the use of special implements and highly technical knowledge. Control rooms and block instruments in railway stations came in for special attention, and destruction of telegraph and telephone lines and equipment was carried out in a manner which denoted careful planning and close knowledge of their working. If these manifestations of rebellious activities are to be regarded as the result not of Congress teachings, but as a manifestation of the popular resentment against the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders, the question may well be asked to which section of the public the tens of thousands of men engaged in these violent and subversive activities belonged. If it is claimed that it is not Congressmen who have been responsible, it would be extraordinary, to say the least, if the blame

were to be laid on non-Congress elements. The country is, in effect, asked to believe that those who own allegiance to the Congress Party have behaved in an exemplary non-violent manner and that it is persons who are outside the Congress fold who have registered their resentment at the arrest of the leaders of a movement which they did not profess to follow.

"A more direct answer to the argument is to be had in the fact that known Congressmen have been repeatedly found engaged in incitements to violence, or in prosecuting Congress activities which have led to grave disorders.

"That political parties and groups outside the Congress Party have no delusions on the subject may be judged from the categorical way in which they have dissociated themselves from the movement, and condemned the violence to which it has given rise. In particular, the Muslim League has, on more than one occasion, emphasised the character and intentions of the policy pursued by the Congress Party. As early as the 20th of August last, the Working Committee of the League expressed the view reiterated many times since, that by the slogan 'Quit India' what was really meant was supreme control of the government of the country by the Congress, and that the mass civil disobedience movement had resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property.

"Other elements in the political life of the country have expressed themselves in a similar vein, and if followers of the Congress persist in their contention that the resultant violence was no part of their policy or programme, they are doing so against the weight of overwhelming evidence.

"Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Viceroy has sought to fasten responsibility on the Government of India. The Government of India emphatically repudiate this suggestion. It is clearly preposterous to contend that it is they who are responsible for the violence of the last few months which so gravely disorganised the normal life of the country—and, incidentally, aggravated the difficulties of the food situation—at a time when the united energies of the people might have been devoted to the vital task of repelling the enemy and of striking a blow for the freedom of India, the Commonwealth and the world."

APPENDIX VI

Memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by a deputation (Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. N. M. Joshi, the Hon'ble Pandit H. N. Kunzru, and Mr. K. M. Munshi) from the Leaders' Conference, Bombay, headed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari at New Delhi on April 1, 1943* :—

We are submitting this memorandum in accordance with His Excellency's desire that he should have a written statement precisely explaining what we wish to say to which His Excellency proposes to give a written reply. While we do so, we hope that the helpful spirit in which we approach this matter also animates His Excellency and that it is with a completely open mind that he will receive the deputation.

2. We are glad that His Excellency has found the resolution of the Bombay Conference of 9th and 10th March perfectly clear. We have therein expressed a desire that His Excellency should permit a few of us to meet Gandhi, who is under detention, to ascertain authoritatively his reactions to the events which have happened since his arrest and to explore with him avenues for reconciliation. If His Excellency has no objection to this, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity and discuss matters with Gandhi. We will then go to His Excellency again and place our proposals before him. In case His Excellency has any objections to following this course, we should like to be informed of the objections so that we may try to answer them, and for this purpose we desire an interview with His Excellency.

3. We have carefully read the correspondence which has passed between His Excellency and Gandhiji and which has been published. We feel that Gandhiji has already expressed his disapproval of violence and sabotage, and we have no doubt that he will cast his influence on the side of internal harmony and reconciliation.

4. The correspondence and statements published in connection with the fast have themselves discouraged the disturbances and the contemplated meeting with Gandhiji will, in our view, further the same object.

5. We feel that though order might have been restored on the surface, every day that passes without a solution of the Indian problem intensifies the hostility between Britain and India, and renders any future solution more and more difficult to attain, until we apprehend it may become even impossible. We are convinced that Gandhiji's assistance is essential for the restoration of goodwill and for a solution of the problem even for the interim period, including an adjustment of

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* The deputation asked His Excellency to accept their statement, with certain additions which they had incorporated in it, as officially presented to him with a view to publication with the Viceroy's reply, and to dispense with their personal attendance. His Excellency readily agreed to this request.

Hindu-Muslim claims. On the other hand, unpleasant as it is, we cannot help feeling that refusing to permit us to have any contact with Gandhiji now would be equivalent to a determination on the part of Great Britain that there should be no attempt at a settlement of the problem and no reconciliation between Nationalist India and Britain. Whatever may be the immediate administrative convenience thereof, we hope that His Excellency will not take up this attitude. We feel that though there is no present danger of Axis aggression in India, the strained relation between Government and people is fraught with grave evil and all that is possible should be done to replace it by a better feeling.

6. As the war is getting long drawn out, measures to solve the economic problems arising out of it as well as plans for increasing production of food and other essential articles and improving transport and distribution as well as measures of control have to be evolved. Such measures can be organised and regulated only by a national administration or a government that can reasonably claim to approach that character and is in a position to justify policies adopted from time to time although they may involve considerable hardships on all sections of people. The situation is growing more and more serious every day and we feel that a government commanding the loyal and affectionate co-operation of all the people can be constituted for the period of the war only if we are permitted to talk with Gandhiji, consult him and obtain his support. The request that we make is intended to achieve this object. It cannot hurt the Government or the war effort in the least and in our view is likely to lead to constructive results.

INDEX